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The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN EXPLAINED TO AN audience in Bremerton, Washington, the simple purpose of his Western trip: "I thought I had better come out and let you look at me to see whether I am the kind of fellow they say I am." Now if what "they say" about Truman can be reduced to a word, that word is "inept," and his tour unfortunately piles up new evidence that "they" are correct. It was, to begin with, a major blunder to make the trip at government expense as a "non-political" project. The heavy-handed way in which Mr. Truman himself has made a joke of this pretension —you can feel the Presidential elbow nudging you in the ribs—is almost as painful as his unembarrassed pleas for election. Had he presented the trip frankly for what it is, letting his party foot the bill, he would not be in the ludicrous position of trying to make political capital while fearing to allow local Democratic leaders to board his train, thus at the same time provoking deserved censure from the Republicans and cries of outrage from his own neglected partisans. Wretched staff work, too, has contributed several episodes to the sorry picture—the humiliating address to an almost empty coliseum in Omaha and the mistaken tribute to a young man's "supreme sacrifice" in the war on the occasion of dedicating an Idaho airport to a young girl killed in a civilian plane crash a year ago. Most far-reaching of all the blunders, however, was the assault on Congress as the "worst" in American history. Holding Congress to account for its wretched performance is justified and should be a crucial factor in the coming campaign, but the President's timing removed any last pretense that the tour was non-political. And its violence stung Congress to a fury at the very moment when responsible leaders—Republican as well as Democrat—were trying to save Mr. Truman's European Recovery Program.

*

IN SPITE OF MR. TRUMAN'S UNWITTING efforts to solidify his opposition in Congress, the Republicans on Capitol Hill have achieved a breach of remarkable proportions, considering the imminence of their party convention. In the matter of E. R. P. funds, Chairman Taber of the Appropriations Committee has declared war "to the end" against the Vandenberg wing of the G. O. P.; Representative Wolcott, in spite of a serious committee defeat, is determined to carry on in his struggle to eliminate the heart of the Taft housing bill; and the entire House leadership will have none of the Senate's proposal to put off adjournment beyond the June 19 deadline already set. It is impossible to believe that so sharp an intra-party division was unavoidable at this moment or indeed anything but a maneuver deliberately designed with an eye on the convention. What we are witnessing is a declaration of war by the deep-dyed tories of the party against the "new look" Republicans who, now that the Promised Land is in sight, threaten to corner the fruits of victory. The Wolcotts, the Hallecks, the Tabers, and the Browns would have got nowhere without the quiet manipulations of Speaker Martin, in whom the Presidential fever has recently been raging. A victory for Martin in Washington, the theory is, will pave the way for the downfall of Vandenberg in Philadelphia. But should Vandenberg get the best of the present struggle, he still will not have enhanced his Presidential chances. The convention will have to bring forth unity, and unity is hardly to be had by choosing one of the protagonists.

*

LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH WAS ONE OF THE best of President Truman's appointees to high office. His record in the Senate had been consistently and militantly on the side of progress, and in spite of his loyalty to President Roosevelt he did not hesitate to hammer away at the shipment of scrap iron to Japan or to oppose conscription of man-power without an accompanying conscription of industry. If his administration of the Labor Department was not as fruitful as it might have been, the fault was not his; on the contrary, his frustrations as Secretary are reliably believed to have hastened his death. The fact is that the Labor Department has been steadily drained of its major functions during the past few years, until today it is the smallest and probably least productive agency headed by a Cabinet officer. One by one, it has been shorn of functions that many government observers considered a vital part of its work. Social services of various kinds and the Employment Service have gone to Social Security; and the National Labor Relations Board has taken over the mediation procedures. The only substantial subdivision left is the Bureau of Labor Statistics. One reason for the department's waning influence has been the apathy of labor itself. Its traditional unwillingness to rely on gov-

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ernmental services is in striking contrast to the demands of farm organizations, which have built the Department of Agriculture into one of the most powerful and extensive agencies in the government. Add to the demoralizing effect of this departmental dissolution the fact that the President relied much less on the friend of his Senate days than he did on his labor adviser, John R. Steelman, and it is readily seen how despondency clouded the last days of an unusually capable public servant.

*

WHILE SERIOUS ATTACKS ARE DIRECTED against the rights of political minorities in the United States, racial minorities are winning an increased measure of civil liberties. A series of sweeping decisions in the courts have wiped out virtually every legal disability under which Japanese and Japanese-Americans have suffered in the past. Following its decision in the Oyama case, which held the California Alien Land Act unconstitutional, the Supreme Court last week ruled in the Takahashi case that California cannot deny off-shore fishing licenses to alien Japanese residents. At the same time, a federal district judge in San Francisco has voided the proceedings under which 2,800 former "internees" of Japanese origin were coerced into abandoning their American citizenship. And even more striking, the boards of supervisors of San Francisco and Los Angeles have asked Congress to adopt the Judd bill, which would repeal the whole code of discrimination with respect to Oriental immigration and citizenship. The same boards in 1942 petitioned Congress to deport all Orientals as "dangerous enemy aliens." The alarmists who raved about the "yellow peril" are finally discredited, and former spokesmen for bigotry now seek to make amends for the injuries of the past.

*

THIS WILL BE A GOOD SUMMER FOR THE Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's Socialist Party. It has already won federal by-elections in three widely diverse "ridings" and made an impressive showing in a legislative election in Tory Ontario. The by-election victories were gained in a fruit-growing district of British Columbia, in an industrial constituency in the heart of Vancouver, and in an Ontario riding, 2,000 miles to the east, which contains a large rural area as well as the city of Oshawa, one of Canada's centers of automobile production. In the Ontario voting, the C. C. F. increased its representation in the provincial legislature from eight to twenty-two members, and emerged as the official opposition. The Ontario Federation of the Canadian Congress of Labor (C. I. O.) campaigned vigorously in behalf of the C. C. F., the first time in the young party's history that it has truly been supported by organized labor, despite its efforts to persuade Canadian unions to follow the

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example set in Britain. With the Ontario experiment such a great success, there is every likelihood that Canadian labor will throw increasing weight behind the C. C. F., giving the party an organized mass base and a source of funds. A large part of the Socialists' appeal, of course, has been created for them by the failure of free-enterprise governments to hold the price line, provide housing for low-income groups, or promote adequate social-security measures. More positively, the C. C. F. can point to the practical success of its own program in Saskatchewan, where it has been in power for four years. This province will be the stage of the next major test for C. C. F., in the provincial election of June 24. While there is no doubt that the Socialists will be reelected, the scope of their victory will be an important augury for future contests.

*

THE TOUCH-AND-GO TRUCE IN PALESTINE offers no hope of ushering in a permanent peace unless certain basic facts are accepted. The sooner they are acknowledged on all sides, the better the chances of success. First and above all is the simple fact of Israel's existence as a sovereign power. Whatever negotiations are conducted at Rhodes by Count Folke Bernadotte must rest on an irreversible act of history, explicit in the United Nations resolution of November 29 and now formally recognized by eleven nations. Obviously, the Israeli will not surrender at the peace table what was granted them at Lake Success and what six Arab nations have not been able to make them surrender on the battlefield. Second, the British, in open partnership with the Arab states, cannot reasonably be thought to qualify as observers or as conductors of any mediation procedure. Their pressure on the mediator for an invitation to provide ships and planes to enforce an arms blockade was as gratuitous as it was inflammatory. It is known that the British idea of a settlement includes an Arab Palestine, ruled by Abdullah, which would be enlarged by the inclusion of the Negev and the port of Haifa—both assigned to Israel under the partition plan and essential to that state's viability—as well as Jerusalem, intended by the U. N. to be an international city. Through Abdullah, the British would retain control of all three areas. Finally, under the terms of the truce resolution the British should be blocked in their present scheme to deny oil to Israel by closing down the Haifa refinery while furnishing Transjordan with oil from a small plant in Kirkuk. The purpose of the truce, after all, was to provide an opportunity for a peaceful settlement, not to weaken Israel to the point where it could neither insist upon nor fight for the boundaries mapped for it by the United Nations.

DAVID LOW is on vacation. His cartoons will reappear in The Nation *in September.*

Sapping the Government

ONE great present danger to the American people is not featured in the headlines but is no less real—a spirit of frustration and discouragement among the thousands of career men and women in the national government. For many years, the quality of persons engaged in this work has been rising, partly because of higher educational standards in the country as a whole, partly because of better salaries and more security of tenure, but chiefly, it seems, because of steadily increased opportunities to serve the public interest in significant ways—a lure which attracts the highest type of talent. For the past two years, these public servants have had to bear the fruit of an unrelenting warfare waged against the executive and administrative agencies of the government by a bitterly hostile and narrowly political Congress. The casualties and the emotional strain of the survivors have been terrific.

Reduction of the swollen staffs and abolition of the emergency agencies incident to the war were to be expected and aroused little objection. But Congress has gone much farther. Dominated by Republicans, it has wished to discredit the Democratic Administration and thus has eyed with suspicion all requests for funds, severely controlled as they are by the Budget Bureau. The Republicans wanted to make a public record of reducing taxes and still maintaining a budget surplus at a time when inflation had increased costs of government and the really large expenditures for past and future wars could not be appreciably trimmed. The ax has therefore fallen indiscriminately on the least protected but often most valuable sectors of government—scientific work, statistics, social services, conservation, reclamation.

The most dramatic example of senseless "economy" is of course the slash which the House Appropriations Committee made in the funds for European recovery. But this act, performed in full view of an aroused public, is no more unintelligent than others of much smaller magnitude, most of which the citizens never hear of. One of the minor ones which has attracted comment is the assault made on the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A large cut last year not only caused the abandonment of plans for improvement of its work but lessened the coverage and promptness in appearance of its standard statistical series, which are constantly used by both labor and business.

The Atomic Energy Commission is denied funds for scientific work. The TVA may not be able to build a stand-by steam plant to complement its hydroelectric system. The Bureau of Mines can no longer collect figures on the production of coal. The Public Health Service is compelled to omit figures of marriages. The Budget Bureau, already forced to employ persons of less train-

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ing and lower salary to check up on the work of other governmental agencies, has to absorb a further 20 per cent cut in its task of rationalizing the administration. So it goes throughout the hundreds of governmental bureaus. The texture of government is weakened and strained over its whole extent.

Add to this the venomous and irresponsible attacks made on competent and often distinguished men like Dr. Condon of the Atomic Energy Commission, add the prospect that there will be not only a change of Administration but possibly a President and Congress ignorant of the creative work of government and in principle didicated to the contraction of "bureaucracy"—and you have an atmosphere from which many competent public servants will flee at the earliest opportunity and to which self-respecting and able recruits will not be attracted.

Eduard Benes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE simple, reasonable explanation of Benes's resignation is that the Czech President, ill and politically isolated, finally decided he could do nothing to modify Communist repressions and might better withdraw than take the responsibility of signing the new constitution legalizing one-party rule in Czechoslovakia. As far as it goes, this is probably accurate enough. It is contradicted, as far as I have seen, only by the statement of Benes's nephew, until recently a counsellor of the Czech embassy in Paris, who has charged that Benes twice before sought to abandon his office and was dissuaded by Premier Gottwald's threat to "take care of" the President's friends and close political associates if he either resigned or refused to ratify the new Cabinet. This sensational version has not been generally accepted, even by correspondents in Prague who have followed events at close range, as it seems inconsistent with the known facts as well as with Benes's temperament and point of view. Benes had always tried to conciliate the differences among Czechoslovakia's anti-fascist political groups, on which he believed the future of his country depended. Although a firm believer in constitutional democracy, it is not surprising that after the February coup he should have remained in office in order to try, as long as health permitted or any chance remained, to mitigate as far as possible the rigors of Communist rule and prevent the antagonisms which precipitated the crisis from carrying the country into civil war. Only when single-party powers were to be sealed into the constitution and Communist methods crystallized into law did the President give up his hope and his job.

But if this explanation is accurate, it is also superficial. The full meaning of President Benes's resignation is to be understood only in the light of the deeper motives that dominated his long public career. Just as he worked for conciliation and cooperation among the anti-fascist elements in Czechoslovakia, so did he among the anti-fascist nations of Europe. Above all, from the end of World War I until last February, Benes strove to bring about understanding between the Soviet Union and the West, in the passionate conviction that only on that basis could peace and democratic progress be established in Europe. The cause of East-West unity was symbolized by his faith and his clever, patient, indefatigable maneuvers to bring it into being. His resignation marks the close of that long effort. What is left is Gottwald in Prague, Stalin in Moscow, and in the West a handful of leaders chiefly intent upon constructing a union of states prepared to resist Soviet pressure, in which a restored Germany will serve as a major focus of industrial power. This solution, by whatever arguments it may be justified, is the antithesis of Benes's hope.

LIKE Mazaryk's death, Benes's resignation must be regarded as the final product of a sequence of ill-intentioned or stupid acts permitted by all the great powers over a period of many years. To understand this is essential; otherwise a recital of the obvious brutal events that led the Czech President to quit is simply misleading. Benes has traced that sequence himself in his Memoirs, which begin in this issue of *The Nation*. Condensed from the volume published in Prague last fall, the chapters to appear in these pages give a tight dramatic résumé of the factors which contributed to Hitler's rise, to Munich, to the war itself, and finally to a democratic victory which, Benes clearly foresaw, would be made secure only by a continuation into peace of the full-time collaboration among the powers, by restraint on the side of Russia, and by the capacity of the Western leaders to recognize and accept the need of revolutionary change throughout Europe.

The story shows how fully Benes was committed in advance to the rapid socialization of industry and to far-reaching social reforms. It shows his too confident determination to work closely with Russia and, on the other hand, his realistic appraisal of the attitude and intentions of the Czech Communists. Regarding the West, Benes revealed a profound understanding; his comments on the political leaders of France, Britain, and the United States, and particularly his estimate of Roosevelt, are as searching as anything in Churchill's masterly chronicle. In my opinion, no record of the period provides a sharper analysis of the forces and men that have combined, since the war's end, to bring about the state of "permanent crisis" of which Benes's resignation is itself an important episode. It is clearly to be hoped that he will live to bring the record down to date, interpreting the events of the post-war years with the same lucidity and detachment that make these Memoirs indispensable reading.

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Convention Guide

BY ROBERT BENDINER

FOR THE first time in sixteen years the Republican Party is about to choose a man with a better than even chance for the Presidency. The preliminary struggle for the nomination has therefore been more than normally fierce, and the G. O. P. convention charged with more historical import than has been the case since 1932. At this late date there is no point in prophecy, but for the possible benefit of readers who expect to follow the Philadelphia proceedings it might be useful to have a last-minute thumbnail review of the cast. With due allowance, then, for this analyst's admitted prejudices, weaknesses, and generally anti-Republican bias, the field looks somewhat as follows:

THOMAS E. DEWEY, Governor of New York: Technically competent, personally honest, fanatically cautious, and innocent of either humor or imagination. . . . Efficient administrator as long as he has his own way, but long record of bulldozing New York legislature would bode ill for relations with much less tractable Congress. . . . Stands for "clean" rather than liberal government. Alienated last scrap of labor following by support of Condon-Wadlin bill and silence on Taft-Hartley act. Good record on race relations, but congenital coldness prevents whole-hearted Negro support. Recently worked up gust of passion for civil liberties, but thinks Thomas committee has done "fine job" and supports Mundt bill, which he insists would not outlaw Communists. . . . Major administrative blunders, rising out of characteristic budget-worship: fought adequate appropriations for public schools and left New York City seriously underfinanced. . . . Vague and inexperienced in foreign affairs. Thought lend-lease "would bring an end to free government in the United States and would abolish Congress for all practical purposes"; but claims to have originated "bipartisanship" in foreign policy. . . . As campaigner, especially vulnerable through personal vanity. Most sharply characterized as the "only man who can strut sitting down." . . . Chief opposition within party comes from McCormick wing. Should start off with about 300 out of necessary 548 votes and must win quickly or not at all.

ROBERT A. TAFT, Senator from Ohio: Distinguished on two counts—as a conservative who doesn't try to pass for anything else and as the only major Republican candidate who could perhaps be defeated by Harry S. Truman. . . . Would have been appreciably ahead of the times as running-mate of William McKinley. Believes wholly in free-enterprise system but concedes that in a few areas in which private business cannot or will not function, such as low-cost housing, government has obligation to step in and provide minimum standards. . . . Maiden speech in Senate was blast at TVA, and has fought public power ever since. Doggedly opposed to Lilienthal. . . . Chief weakness, a total incapacity to think in world terms. Opposed lend-lease, selective service in 1940, American participation in World Bank and other international bodies. Grudgingly supported U. N. Charter, but recently favored gutting reciprocal-trade system and setting E. R. P. appropriations well below minimum asked by Marshall. . . . Ability as public servant widely conceded but politically canceled out by cold, arrogant manner. . . . Since McCormick can't have MacArthur, he'll take Taft. . . . Should command just enough votes at convention to block Dewey. Likely to throw strength ultimately to tory dark horse like Martin or Bricker.

HAROLD E. STASSEN, former Governor of Minnesota: For two years a full-time Presidential candidate, at least part-time since birth. Presents himself as leading Republican liberal—heir to T. R. and Wendell Willkie. Record raises doubts. Would limit income taxes (called "levies on initiative") to 50 per cent on highest incomes and make up deficit by national sales tax (called "progressive tax"). Far to right of Taft on housing question. Called for denial of E. R. P. aid to governments engaged in "socializing" industry. Gave Minnesota "count-ten plan," forerunner of Taft-Hartley act. Supports Mundt bill because it *would* outlaw Communists. . . . Boldly imaginative in foreign policy. Month before Marshall's Harvard speech proposed that we devote 10 per cent of national production for ten years to restore European economy. Back in 1943 talked of "permanent United Nations Government of the World." . . . Avowed credo: America's "free capitalistic system, wisely regulated but not unduly burdened, is capable of avoiding crises and depressions." . . . Has warm manner on platform, self-confidence to point of audacity, and convincing pretense to candor. . . . Anathema to party leaders, as maverick and potential threat to power of old-line bosses. Bitterly antagonized Taft and Dewey in primaries. . . . Chief asset, popularity among young Republicans. . . . Expected to use strength to try for vice-presidential nomination, especially if Vandenberg heads ticket.

ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Senator from Michigan: Once just another Senator, whose only achievement in sixteen years was Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation law. Now G. O. P.'s "elder statesman" and most distinguished figure (except to McCormick sector, which calls him Benedict Arnold). Present eminence direct result of recanting such isolationist views as 1939 statement that "this so-called war is nothing but about twenty-five people and propaganda. . . . They want our money and our men." F. D. R., fearing he might become Henry Cabot Lodge of World War II, sent him to San Francisco conference establishing U. N. Has worked faithfully with three Democratic Secretaries of State since then, and is now engaged in desperate fight to save E. R. P. from emasculation by party colleagues in House. . . . Domestic policy flows from lifelong hero-worship of Alexander Hamilton. . . . Now sixty-four and dependent on

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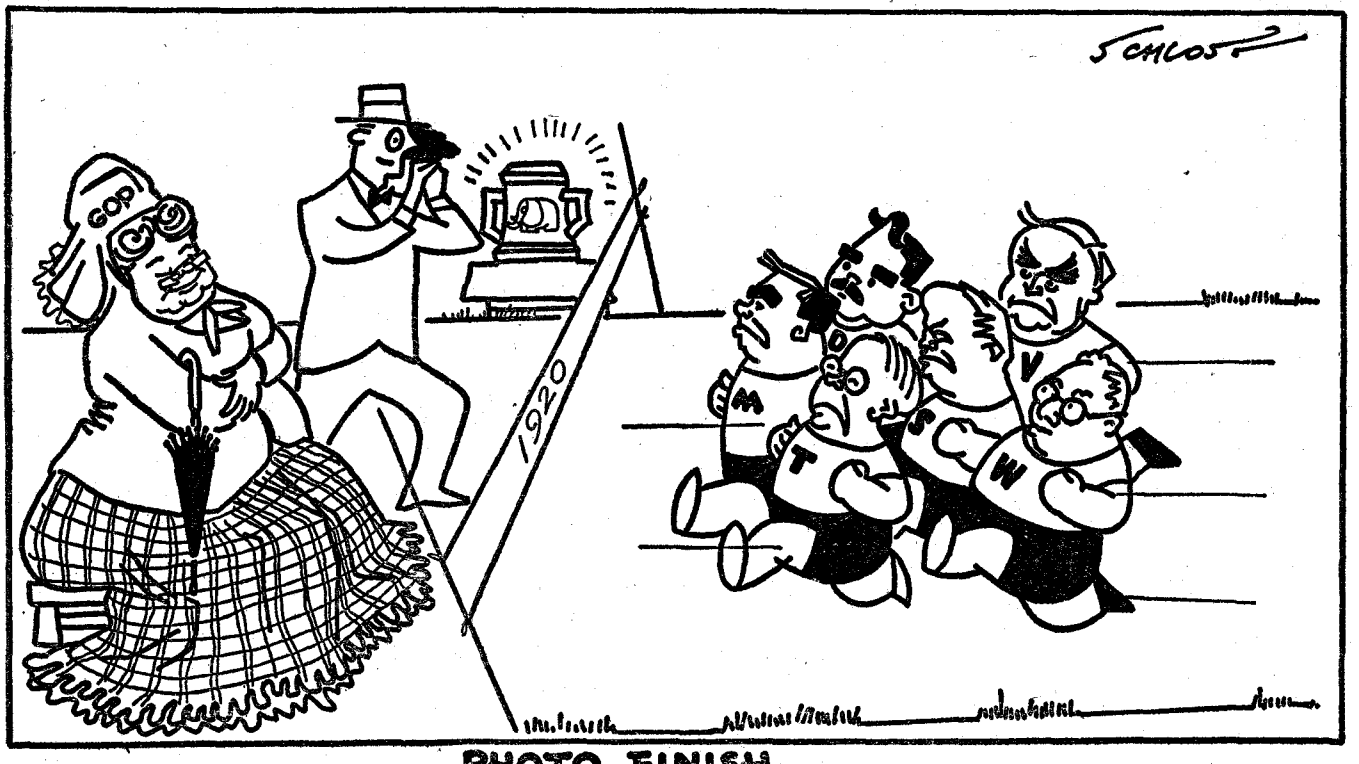
digitalis, he is genuinely disinclined to run. Will accept draft on condition that he be considered a one-term President if elected, thus adding greatly to importance of vice-presidential nomination. . . . Given to speeches compounded equally of solid reporting and grandiloquence. . . . Personally well liked, combining air of dignity with newspaperman's traditional irreverence and a lively wit. . . . Widely regarded as most probable choice in event of deadlock, but chances diminished by open clash with party leaders in House.

EARL WARREN, Governor of California: Started out as protégé of conservative Knowland machine. Performance as district attorney clean, capable, politically regular, and undistinguished. . . . First gained national attention by leading hysterical movement to exclude Japanese Americans from West Coast in early days of war. . . . Made attempt to win Democratic voters in campaign for governorship in 1942 by show of political independence, an attitude encouraged by California's free-wheeling system that allows all candidates to file in all parties. . . . Once in office, made fight for increased gasoline tax, opposed by oil interests; advocated compulsory health insurance and expanded social-security program. Breach in party regularity widened in 1946, with Warren nominated by both parties. . . . Has bucked national G. O. P. leaders by opposing tax cuts except in lower brackets, by warning of "too much haste in dropping controls," and by demanding higher appropriations for reclamation. Backs Vandenberg in fight for effective E. R. P., favors public-housing bill, and opposes move to outlaw Communist Party. . . . Some party bosses wonder whether he would be Republican President if elected or "bipartisan." Chances hardly enhanced by last week's tribute from Truman: "He is really a Democrat and doesn't know it." . . . Genial, mild personality and good campaigner, though lacking in color. Six healthy, photogenic children an additional campaign asset. . . . As vice-presidential choice, would unquestionably add strength to ticket headed by Eastern conservative.

JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Speaker of the House. Routine politician, aptly said to have "spent a lifetime avoiding the making of enemies." Twenty-four years in Congress without one major bill that bears his name. . . . Essentially a "fixer," working behind the scenes and with good friends on both sides of the aisle. As party chairman, managed Willkie campaign in 1940, though far from Willkie enthusiast. Hews to line right of center, avoiding extremes where possible. Supported some New Deal labor reforms and reciprocal trade treaties, but otherwise record is clear of liberal taint. Considered perfectly "safe" by ultra-conservatives. . . . Believes in helping foreign nations only "if they help themselves," which they can't do by socialism. Prone to dismiss all critics of specific actions as Communists, bent on discrediting American system of government. Great admirer of Thomas committee. . . . Owns up to nothing that could be called political philosophy. White House press corps would find it hard going to get much out of "President" Martin's friendly vagueness and noncommittal pleasantries. . . . Represents last chance for old-line bosses to ride back into power. Chief backer, Pennsylvania boss Joe Pew.

Beyond these principals and dark horses there are of course even darker horses—like Senator Bricker, who allowed his name to appear on the Gerald Smith ticket four years ago, and Governor Dwight Green of Illinois, faithful disciple of the Chicago Colonel. But they are probably too dark to warrant much advance attention, some qualifications being required even to beat Mr. Truman. And what if it shouldn't be Mr. Truman, after all?—"aye, there's the rub."



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Memoirs of Eduard Benes

I. OMENS OF A NEW CONFLICT

This is the first of six instalments of the Memoirs of Eduard Benes, somewhat abridged. The period covered by the series begins with German efforts to revise the Versailles treaty and ends with the pact signed by Czechoslovakia's exiled President with the Soviet Union in December, 1943. The second instalment, to appear next week, deals with the Munich pact and the subsequent exile of Dr. Benes. Passages which are summarized by the editors are inclosed in brackets.

AFTER the Treaty of Versailles was signed and Germany had begun to recover from its defeat in 1918, that is, by 1921-22, a tremendously exciting drama began in Europe—the fight to revise the Versailles peace. It was one of the bitterest struggles in the political history of the Continent, and it ended in a new devastating tragedy—the Second World War.

To anyone who watched Germany closely and continuously in the years following 1920 it could not but be clear that a long period of conflict over the peace treaty was starting and that its outcome would be either a gradual reconciliation and, finally, cooperation between the camps of the victors and the vanquished or a new great war. In Czechoslovakia we never doubted this. Our foreign policy between the two world wars was fully consistent with this view. On the one hand, we made an increasing effort for peace and collaboration with our former enemies. On the other, we worked to build up guaranties of collective security and to strengthen the League of Nations. At the same time we were preparing our defenses for the possible conflict.

This was the sense of our policy at Geneva and Locarno, the sense of our policy of granting certain concessions on reparations, disarmament, economic relations. We never excluded the possibility of becoming good neighbors with a democratic, peace-loving Germany, should such a Germany exist.

Nevertheless, we were aware that a policy of moderation might not succeed. A moment would come when concessions must cease, when the victors must state unequivocally what was and was not to be permitted. We knew that if the Germans, when this moment came, felt themselves sufficiently strong, they would renew the fight with new methods—with threats, force, and finally war. It was no longer possible to doubt this development after the Nazi dictatorship in Germany joined the Fascist dictatorship in Italy.

I saw quite clearly what was happening in Europe. I saw that the two camps must inevitably either join for peace and progress or clash in a terrible conflict. I wanted to have our state—situated in the very center of this conflict, a brand-new state not yet thoroughly integrated in the world by tradition, development, or knowledge—so well anchored and prepared that it could emerge unharmed from either diplomatic negotiations or war.

I tried therefore at all costs to maintain the unity of the European Allies of 1918 and to preserve our alliance with France and the states of the Little Entente. I was convinced that a peaceful solution could be reached only if Germany at the critical moment should be faced with a coalition of states, only if Germany should fail in its efforts to destroy that coalition so that it could do battle against each of us separately. This was the chief reason why I worked so steadily from 1922 to 1938 and again during the Second World War for agreement between Western Europe and the Soviet Union.

IN OCTOBER, 1938, when Germany left the disarmament conference and the League of Nations, I realized that Europe was headed toward military conflict. My diagnosis was confirmed by the development of nationalism and Nazism in Germany. The undisguised pan-Germanism, the uncompromising fight against democracy, the purposeful propagandizing of all Germans abroad and their utilization as revolutionary organs against the states where they lived, the adoption of such slogans as *Lebensraum* and *Herrenvolk*, the bestial anti-Semitism, the whole primitivism of expression used by Germany's so-called "Führer"—to me all this was evidence that the struggle was no longer between two political camps, defeated Germany against the victorious Allies, but between two totally different and irreconcilable worlds.

In addition, there was the problem of the Soviet Union. How would it fit into this European struggle, and where would it finally stand? I never agreed with the policy of the Western democracies which isolated the Soviet Union for a long time and excluded it from European and world cooperation. It seemed to me that the struggle would be settled in favor of the side toward which the Soviet Union finally inclined.

For that reason we entered into contact with the Soviet Union as early as 1922, at the Genoa conference, and

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despite the opposition of our own right-wingers tried to maintain friendly relations up to the year 1938. For that reason, too, from the moment that the Soviet Union realized the danger of the fascist dictatorships and altered its attitude toward the Western democracies and the League of Nations, we did everything possible to make it the ally of the Western democracies and ourselves. Actual treaties of alliance among the Soviet Union and France and Czechoslovakia were signed in 1935. I wish to emphasize that we were not influenced in this policy by ideological motives. Our judgment was determined exclusively by the goal of international peace.

I was personally familiar with conditions in the Soviet Union. I knew that for some time the regime had been very strong, and that any talk about the possibility of an internal revolution from whatever side was either naive nonsense or malignant, purposeful propaganda. I knew the Soviet army was strong, well organized, and still growing. Finally, in 1935, I knew that the two Five-Year Plans had so fundamentally altered the economic structure of the Soviet Union that it had become one of the strongest industrial states in Europe.

Our conception of a fruitful international policy, of the need for cooperation with the Soviet Union against aggression and reaction in Germany, required that Western Europe realize the necessity of adjusting its social policy toward a country like the Soviet Union which had undergone a revolution. At the same time it required that the Soviet Union seriously consider adjusting its political and revolutionary principles to Western European concepts of political freedom. At the very least, it required that the two systems exercise mutual tolerance. This meant to me that Western Europe must permit a definitely progressive and truly democratic development in social and economic conditions, and that the bourgeoisie would have to be induced to make considerable concessions to the socialistically inclined working classes. It seemed to me that European and world peace unconditionally demanded, and was well worth, these concessions.

An especially grave sign of approaching trouble was the German-Polish pact of January 26, 1934. This greatly increased the tension between France and Poland and created new tensions between us and Poland and between the Soviet Union and Poland. It contributed to France's retreat from Central Europe and to the creation of the Laval, Bonnet, and Pétain cliques. [In a conversation with M. Grzybowski, the Polish Foreign Minister, in 1934, Dr. Benes expressed his belief that this alliance would vitiate the so-called French system of European security and make a common eastern front against German aggression impossible; it would give Germany time, he said, to prepare its expansionist plans, of which Poland would be one of the first victims. The Polish Minister was unconvinced.]

> *It was a simple policy to keep Germany disarmed and the victors adequately armed for thirty years, and in the meanwhile, even if a reconciliation could not be made with Germany, to build ever more strongly a true League of Nations capable of making sure that treaties were kept or changed only by discussion or agreement. . . . But this modest requirement the might, civilization, learning, knowledge, science of the victors were unable to supply.*—WINSTON CHURCHILL'S "MEMOIRS"

ON MARCH 7, 1936, Hitler dealt European peace a decisive blow by reoccupying the Rhineland. Czechoslovakia—and probably Poland—was fully prepared to march at the side of France against Germany. We told the French minister in Prague that we would follow France if it decided Hitler's act justified such a course. Hitler's violation of the Locarno agreement and its so-called Rhine pact empowered France and England to go to war immediately. The Western democracies could then have stopped Germany and its criminal policies in time. In my opinion we were bound to march with them, and we would have done so. But nothing happened.

By their failure to act the French committed a fatal error: a treaty, signed by Germany, had been negotiated for this specific case. Inaction showed inexplicable weakness and frivolous lack of foresight. This fatal error was the direct cause of the collapse and tragedy of France. In March, 1936, France abandoned itself; thus it could abandon us more easily in September, 1938. [The effect of this Allied blunder was soon evident: as the eastern governments began to swing out of France's orbit, their fascist parties gained strength in preparation for assuming power.]

Austria soon realized what this successful German move against the West could mean, for the destructive work of the German Nazis in Austria increased to such a pitch that Chancellor Schuschnigg was forced to sign the notorious agreement with Hitler, on July 11, 1936. This was not only the first but the decisive blow against Austrian independence. It made Nazism a legal movement within Austria and opened the way for shameless intervention by German Nazis in the domestic affairs of Austria and for the creation of the first European Quislings.

Hitler now thought that the moment was ripe to go after Czechoslovakia too. He planned a single operation with a twofold purpose. He would offer us a pact similar to the Polish accord, drive a wedge between us and Western Europe, compromise us in the eyes of the Soviet Union, and so isolate us internationally that we would automatically fall into the orbit of his policy. Within Czechoslovakia he would lay the groundwork

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for what he had done in Austria. He would have us declare Nazism legal in Czechoslovakia; then under cover of the agreement he would corrupt our Germans, destroy their loyalty to the government, Nazify them completely, and later decide on the course most favorable to Germany.

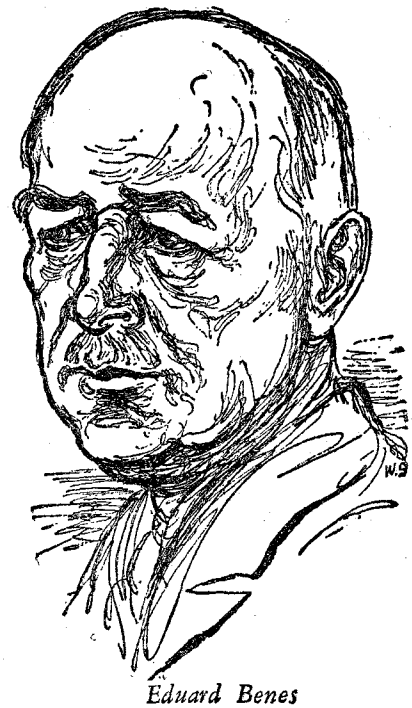
AS THE first step in carrying out this plan Count Trauttmannsdorff approached our minister in Berlin in the fall of 1936 and told him that two representatives of Hitler wished to come to Prague to ascertain whether it would be possible to reach an agreement. The whole affair was shrouded in the deepest secrecy. The negotiation was to be solely between the two heads of state. I replied that I would receive them, listen to their views very gladly, and answer their questions immediately.

The two emissaries arrived in Prague on November 13, 1936. They were Count Trauttmannsdorff, a former Austrian noble and once one of our nationals (his brother had an estate in Czechoslovakia at Hhochovy Tynec), and Dr. Haushofer, son of the well-known Bavarian exponent of geopolitics, Professor Haushofer, who was later executed by the Nazis. I told them that I was not opposed to negotiations and that I would welcome a treaty between Germany and Czechoslovakia. However, I could not express myself concretely until I knew in greater detail the principles on which it would be based. I reminded them that although I would not refuse to conduct the negotiations personally if the Reichskanzler so desired, nevertheless, as a constitutional President I could not do so without the Foreign Minister, and I must also inform the Prime Minister. I also requested the two negotiators not to leave Prague without visiting Foreign Minister Krofta and informing him of the whole affair. Otherwise, of course, they could rest assured that the affair would remain strictly confidential. The next day they visited Dr. Krofta, and then returned to Berlin.

At the beginning of December, 1936, they asked our Berlin minister to arrange another visit to Prague. They were received at the Prague castle on December 18. The discussion was thorough, and on my side very discreet. The visit lasted about seven hours, and left me not the slightest doubt about what Hitler wanted.

Hitler's proposal as presented by Trauttmannsdorff and Haushofer was that Germany and Czechoslovakia should sign a declaration similar to the Polish-German pact of January 26, 1934, which would place the relations of both countries on an entirely new footing. It would state that armed conflict between Czechoslovakia and Germany should never occur again and include recognition of Czschoslovakia's frontiers. Germany, they said, asked nothing more than that the Germans in Czechoslovakia obtain some sort of "cultural autonomy" and be allowed to declare and cultivate freely their Germanic outlook. If this were granted, Germany would have no interest in supporting the desires of our German political leaders for territorial autonomy.

I explained to them in detail the problem of our Germans: what we thought about it and how we wanted to solve it, what rights our Germans already had and what they perhaps still lacked, in what ways they, and their friends in Germany, were wronging us. I spoke openly, without reservations and without diplomatic formulas. "We do not want war," I said. "We know that if you should be the ones to win the war, you would take away as much of our territory as possible and purge the so-called German districts in Czechoslovakia of all Czechs. We are aware of this and preparing for it." My frankness seemed to startle them.



Eduard Benes

I told Hitler's representatives that his proposal would force us to cancel our treaties with France and the Soviet Union and resign from the League of Nations. And these were obligations, I added, which the Czechoslovak government was determined to fulfil. With ironic smiles Hitler's delegates replied, "After all, signing a pact with Germany would not require such a step from you." Poland had not done it. "Czechoslovakia, in case Germany should go to war with any of these states, would simply fail to put its treaties with them into action," they said.

I was astounded by their interpretation, and especially that they did not seem in the least ashamed of their cynical suggestion that we prepare in advance to break treaties we had signed.

After a short discussion, during which I stated that under the circumstances we could come to no agreement, both negotiators asked me to give them my own proposal. I replied at once that the accord should be based on the already existing German-Czechoslovak arbitration treaty signed at Locarno on October 16, 1925. I said I would prepare a draft text along these lines and send it to Berlin. The delegates accepted my proposal and expressed satisfaction with the discussions. But they did not come to Prague again, and I never received a reply to my draft text.

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Berlin later ascribed the stoppage of negotiations to "indiscretion" in Czechoslovakia. It was implied that von Neurath, who opposed an agreement with Czechoslovakia, had found out what was going on. The truth, however, was that my conception of a possible treaty was never acceptable to the Third Reich. Under my proposal no new opportunities would be opened to German fascism for the legal penetration of Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, my draft emphasized respect for our democracy and, indeed, completely blocked the accomplishment of Hitler's purpose.

In the middle of January, 1937, I received unofficial news from Berlin to the effect that the Prague conferences were considered to have failed; I was also very confidentially informed that Hitler was now carrying on other negotiations which, if successful, might have some effect on our affairs. We discovered from an unconscious slip of the tongue by Trauttmannsdorff that these "other negotiations" were with the Soviet anti-Stalin conspirators—Marshal Tukachevsky, Rykov, and others. Hitler fully believed these moves would be successful and therefore for the time being had no further interest in pressing conclusions in our case. The whole European situation would truly have been altered had he succeeded in overturning the Soviet regime. But Stalin acted in time. I immediately informed Alexandrovsky, Soviet minister in Prague, about what I had learned from the Mastny-Trauttmannsdorff conversation in Berlin.

Muscle-Bound America

BY A. G. MEZERIK

I. Power

IT WAS a hard winter. Snow, sleet, and ice were the rule. Last summer was not ideal either, with widespread drought and forest fires. For one group, however, the tough weather had advantages: it provided those responsible for our power shortage with the world's oldest alibi—blame it on the weather. But the fundamental causes of the present muscle-bound condition of the country are to be found, not in a bad winter or a dry summer, but in the basic philosophy of the power companies and the political pressure they exert.

From the northern tip of Maine to San Diego, California, the country is suffering from a shortage of electricity for light and power. Power companies know this shortage may have political consequences. That much is obvious from their desperate efforts to keep the facts from the public.

A recent article of mine in *Collier's*, Our Lights Are Going Out, analyzed the power shortage. It aroused the bitter condemnation of private power interests and the big suppliers of electrical equipment, including General Electric. Several companies threatened to withdraw their advertising from *Collier's*, shouted "communism," and demanded the heads of editors. One able editor, André Fontaine, was fired at once, according to *Newsweek* and *Time* of June 7, and a second summary dismissal, that of Managing Editor Joe Alex Morris, soon followed. "Fontaine," said *Time*, "had thought that *Collier's* should have some of its old crusading spirit. [Management] favored the line of least resistance." The power companies had opened up their guns to silence any talk of a power shortage.

Charles E. Oakes, president of the Edison Electric Institute, was quoted in the *Electric World* for July 26, 1947, as saying that "rumors of an impending shortage of electric power in the United States are "unwarranted" and "untrue." He also said, "Although the early post-war growth of demand for electricity has exceeded expectations and has narrowed the industry's margin of spare and reserve capacity, all customer demands will be met in 1947 and in the years following." Then came the winter, and the limb was sawed off under Mr. Oakes.

An A. P. dispatch from San Francisco on March 16 reported that the state had appointed a "power czar." The new emergency power director immediately announced power cuts of 20 per cent along with various forms of rationing, including orders that housewives "must not put hot food into refrigerators." This new round of restrictions lasted until the rains finally came. Previously there had been a succession of curtailment orders which involved the closing of plants, the laying off of men, the quarantining of beaches (because of a lack of chlorine manufactured by one of the shut-down plants), and the postponement of the opening of new plants—for instance, by Reynolds Metals.

The great California utility network of Pacific Gas and Electric had said early in 1947 that its customers had nothing to worry about; the company could take care of the demand even in the driest year. Today P. G. and E. is blaming the drought, but behind the drought lies an-

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," is known to NATION *readers through a former series, Dixie in Black and White. In coming articles he will discuss other shortages—in steel, agricultural machinery, oil— which threaten America's strength and prosperity.*

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other reason. For years P. G. and E. has had as its basic policy the obstruction of the Central Valley Project, which might now, had it been completed, be providing power. P. G. and E.'s effective political activities helped to make the shortage inevitable.

In Missouri plants have also been forced to close, and distributing cooperatives set up by the Rural Electrification Administration have had to limit electricity for farmers and grain elevators because their suppliers have been unable to provide power. All through the Middle West urban as well as rural electrification is in trouble, especially in the Missouri Valley, where the utilities have halted the development of publicly owned power on the "Big Muddy" and its tributaries.

THE POWER companies are naturally incensed when this backdrop for the shortage is painted in—particularly in an election year. Now more than ever they would like the public to forget their long political record and ignore their present activities. In Montana the privately owned power company not only claims all the available water in the Missouri River but has staked out for itself "appropriations of water greater than the total flow," in the words of Montana's attorney general. Meanwhile the Montana Power Company follows a dog-in-the-manger policy. It does not develop hydroelectric sites which its legal department has prevented the state and the federal government from utilizing.

In Utah George M. Gadsby, president of the Utah Power Company, wages a political battle against a federal power development which would not only alleviate the present shortage but enable the region to process its great phosphate beds, now so essential to the exhausted soil of the Western agricultural area.

At the same time the traditional attacks on TVA, on Bonneville, and on state legislatures which have ideas about rate-making or regulation continue without let-up. The legislative friends of the power companies help in this game. Recently, after closed hearings, a House appropriations subcommittee rejected a TVA request for funds with which to build a steam plant at New Johnsonville, Tennessee. The power lobbyists say the industry fears the competition of TVA, but the proposed plant would have served an area in which no private companies operate. The private companies ignore the fact that there is a grave national power shortage and that every additional kilowatt is precious.

They bombard Congress and the country with statements that TVA sells power to big industry too cheaply. They know that interruptible power—power which is delivered only when available—is always sold at a lower rate than firm power, since residential users and most businesses do not buy it, but they attack TVA for a practice that is common among private companies and pose as the defenders of the municipalities and cooperatives which pay higher rates to TVA for a dependable power supply.

Weeping for the municipal and cooperative customers of TVA is only part of the act put on by the power companies. They lament that the rest of the country will soon have no industry: all factories will be moved to the Tennessee Valley. They picture a deserted Detroit and Pittsburgh, with signs posted on every factory gate—"Moved to the Tennessee Valley, where power is cheap." They accuse the TVA of luring industry away from its present sites, although that is exactly what they do themselves. Who is not familiar with the advertisements of the private power companies: "Move from wherever you are; come to the area served by us"?

All the arguments against the proposed New Johnsonville plant, which is so necessary to that area that even Boss Crump and Senator McKellar demand it, are part of the political barrage laid down by the power companies to head off the growth of public power. They have fought the development of Bonneville's public power just as ruthlessly, and many experts see their action as a contributing cause of the recent disastrous floods in the Columbia Valley. Floods or no floods, their drive against Bonneville and the great California Central Valley Project goes on. It takes many forms, including even an attempt to deprive Reclamation Commissioner Michael Straus of his job.

In the last forty years eighty-two bills have been introduced into Congress to curb the activities of the tremendous corps of power lobbyists that infests Washington, but the industry has such influence that not one of these bills has been enacted into law.

There have been spectacular Congressional investigations in the same period. Some, like the famous inquiry begun in 1928 by Senator George Norris, were blockbusters. The disclosure that the National Electric Light Association was subsidizing teachers and corrupting education shocked the nation. The N. E. L. A., was forced by that exposure to change its name; it became the Edison Electric Institute. However, the industry's political activities did not cease. In fact, in the last session of Congress, according to Senators Murray and Hill, power-company lobbying reached an all-time peak. The industry carried on its political operations openly through the newly created National Association of Electric Companies, which is headed by Purcell Smith—an aggressive $65,000-a-year lobbyist of long experience. Mr. Smith was formerly president of the Midwest Corporation, once the keystone of the Insull empire.

The creation of the N. A. E. C. should have put the country on notice that instead of worrying about the power shortage and planning expansion the companies were concentrating on political action designed to stop the extension of public power and to capture exist-

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ing publicly owned developments. To provide a smoke screen for this political barrage the public-relations departments of the industry hoisted once again the free-enterprise flag and in a flood of slick paid propaganda in big magazines, on the air, and in newspapers—tiny country weeklies as well as huge metropolitan dailies—attempted to bury the memory of Insull and Hopson, of the water in their stocks, the franchises in their boots, and the many skeletons in their closets.

THE FLAW in this strategy is the power shortage itself, which cannot be buried because too many people feel its effects. The shortage insistently raises questions. For instance, Senator Aiken of Vermont wants to know who is blocking hydroelectric development along the St. Lawrence River. The plight of his state and his region demands an answer. Vermont has been suffering from a power shortage that has threatened its industries with paralysis; the four northern countries were so jeopardized that the state government demanded emergency power from the army and navy to forestall the shut down of factories employing thousands of persons.

The northern tip of Maine suffered so greatly that rationing was in effect for all the winter months. A state of emergency was proclaimed by President Truman in order that a destroyer might be brought in to generate current for the stricken areas.

The great state of New York, excluding New York City and its environs, was in constant trouble last winter. The state Public Utility Commission assumed powers similar to those it had had in war time. In Buffalo the United Automobile Workers asked Mayor Dowd to order a "brown-out" to conserve power for industry.

The triangle where Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York meet is perhaps the most intensively industrialized area in the world. In this sector the great Duquesne Power Company announced that demand was much larger than its capacity and that industry would be required to rearrange its requirements, which meant night-shift operations in the off-peak period.

These areas could be getting power from the hydroelectric development of the St. Lawrence River, but that project has been shelved regularly each time it has been introduced in the Senate, usually without debate. This year the many impacts of the power shortage enabled Senator Aiken and others to force a full-dress debate, but the political strength of the utility companies, though shaken, was still great enough to stymie favorable action.

A step or two away from the St. Lawrence valley is the sovereign state of New Jersey, which was almost prostrate after the ice storm of January 2. Governor Driscoll, "boiling mad," according to the State Utility Commissioner, labeled the performance of the utility companies after the storm as "inexcusable." The Governor apparently did not agree with the power companies that their failure was due solely to the weather, believing perhaps that poor maintenance and the lack of reserve capacity were more responsible. In any case, and no matter how good their lobbyists are, the New Jersey utility companies—come another emergency—will see some political hell raised at Trenton.

Individuals from Florida to Seattle also know the shortage first-hand. Men are temporarily unemployed because plants have closed for lack of power. Farmers cannot get the juice with which to pump water for irrigation; many other farmers who waited all through the war years for poles and lines to come down their dirt roads now learn that they must wait some more. Country people are not only the last to get electricity, but when they have it they are the first to feel a shortage, for the power companies and municipal plants were set up primarily to meet urban demands.

In cities business men who have made plans to instal additional modern power-driven machinery must now defer expansion until the local power company can assure them of adequate electricity. Women are told at electrical repair shops that low voltage plays the devil with motors in homes as in factories; they must buy new parts for their washing machines and radios, damaged by the reduced voltages instituted by utility companies to make an inadequate power supply go farther.

MOST people, whether farmers or city dwellers, want to do something about the shortage, and they can, since they have a vote. It is that vote which makes the power lobbies so sensitive. Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission also knows that Americans can vote on the power issue. In a speech made at Albany last November he spelled out the political implications of the activities of the power companies and recalled to the minds of his power-starved listeners Franklin D. Roosevelt famous "waffle-iron campaign" in 1930. In conclusion he said, "The all-front drive of utility forces to reverse the F. D. R. power policy has provided us with a splendid issue, ready to hand, for the campaign of 1948."

Commissioner Olds spoke specifically of the attempt of the power companies to put strings on TVA, to block power at government dams, and to prevent the TVA principle from being used on the Missouri and St. Law-

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rence rivers. He mentioned the utilities' drive to amend the Federal Power Act, which, if successful, would capture the country's water-power resources for unlimited private exploitation, and the legislative legerdemain through which they hoped to free the great interstate companies from effective regulation.

The Federal Power Commissioner might also have mentioned Pacific Gas and Electric's successful opposition in the last session of Congress to the proposal that the Central Valley Project be authorized to construct transmission lines in California. In the same session the Colorado power companies won a similar victory when they blocked construction of the transmission lines for the Colorado-Big Thompson project. The Colorado companies also took part in the combined drive of the utilities which torpedoed an appropriation for the development of public power in the Southwest.

The utility industry will do almost anything to keep the public from considering the power shortage the political issue which they themselves have made it by restricting and crippling public-power developments and failing to develop their own water-power sites. They use their great financial strength and the pressure they can exert as large advertisers to stifle public discussion. But they cannot conceal the damage. Its impacts are felt throughout the world.

Europe's output of power is still 14 per cent below its 1937 level. Europe today accounts for only 29 per cent of the world's production of power, as against 40 per cent in 1937. If E. R. P. is to succeed, Europe must increase its power production far above pre-war levels, but it cannot do this unless it receives power-station and line equipment from the United States. Our factories, however, according to the Krug report, do not have the capacity necessary to supply in any reasonable time the needs of both this country and Europe. To make matters worse, the new armament program in this country will rapidly increase its demand for industrial power.

This is the spot on to which we have been pushed by the private power interests. As they continue their efforts to manipulate regulatory bodies, to put through legislative grabs of franchises and water rights, to cover up their fiscal policies, to oppose by fair means or foul the desire of the public to develop the nation's power resources, they will push the solution of the power shortage farther and farther away. Such a course will make it certain that American factories, homes, and farms will lack power for years to come; it will cripple efforts for European rehabilitation, and work at cross-purposes with the bipartisan preparedness program which the companies profess to indorse. Thus a major issue will be provided for the election.

Can Coal Strikes Be Prevented?

BY ROBERT E. NICHOLS

Washington, May 11

WHEN Congress passed the Taft-Hartley act last summer, many union men muttered that John L. Lewis was more than a little to blame. Now many union men are muttering again.

Once this year already Lewis has shown that he can still instigate a nation-wide industrial crisis if he chooses —the Taft-Hartley act notwithstanding. More important perhaps, he has shown that he is still capable of keeping the mines closed long enough to achieve his various objectives. And now it appears that a new strike is just around the corner—the expected walkout date is July 6.

Congress, as a result, has been talking of a stronger law. Although the morass of pre-adjournment business prevented the lawmakers from enacting any measures to deal with Lewis this session, such legislation will undoubtedly be waiting in the House and Senate hoppers when Congress reconvenes: bills for compulsory arbitration, for outlawing industry-wide bargaining, for government seizure of the mines, for a dozen and one other devices to tighten government's checkrein on Big Labor in general and the United Mine Workers and Lewis in particular. Unfortunately, if recent Congressional thinking is any guide, these measures will be palliative rather than remedial, punitive rather than preventive.

It is true that no other labor leader in the country has kept the federal government at bay so often or so long as John L. Lewis. Few groups can boast such a strategic grip on the economy as his miners. On the other hand, few groups have so strong a case for seeking improved working and living conditions. The mining industry is infamously hazardous, and the conditions in nearby communities are notably bad.

Even so, this country cannot countenance repeated coal strikes. Despite the atom, coal is still an essential component of the industrial bloodstream. Any prolonged labor disturbance in the mines, like the miners' walkout this March and April, quickly reverberates through our entire economic structure. This spring the stoppage lasted thirty-eight days. On other occasions the shutdowns have been longer and the effects more severe.

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In any coal strike the railroads are hit first. Under normal conditions trains move some 150,000 cars of coal a week. When the mines close, this flow from the coal fields to the industrial centers rapidly diminishes to a trickle. By the second, third, and fourth weeks reserve coal stocks are shrinking. Men are laid off. And the effects spread—paralyzing our closely interdependent industrial activities.

First freight operations of the railroads diminish, then actual movement of the trains slows down. The urgency of the situation doubles at this point, since coal mining and railway transportation are two of the nation's "basic" industries, feeding and supplying scores of others. We depend upon the railroads for 70 per cent of our transportation, and about 80 per cent of the major train systems run by coal. Crippling the railroads, moreover, cripples other forms of transportation, since a substantial amount of our petroleum products, the fuel of these other carriers, are distributed by rail.

Steel mills register each drop in coal stockpiles with a proportional drop in production. Blast furnaces are banked. Open-hearth and Bessemer converters close for lack of pig iron from the blast furnaces. The rolling mills themselves stop for lack of ingot steel.

The effects of the strike of March and April did not reach this stage, but the pattern was plain. Secretary of Interior Krug estimated that a sixty-day coal stoppage would curtail or shut down 67 per cent of electric utilities, 82 per cent of steel and rolling mills, 91 per cent of major railroads, and 77 per cent of other key industries. Both passenger and freight service on coal-burning railroads were cut back to delay the full impact of the mine stoppage. The Department of Justice clamped an embargo on all soft-coal exports—at a time when more than a million and a half tons were going to Europe each month as Marshall Plan aid. To the European countries this coal was one-fourth of their entire supply.

A glance at the history of John L. Lewis and his mine workers, furthermore, makes it clear that this spring's coal stoppage was not an extraordinary event. Industrial production was interrupted last year for thirty-six days when Mr. Lewis nodded his men out of the mines from June 23 to July 28. In 1946, year of the "big strike," there were two mine shutdowns—one lasting fifty-nine days, from April 1 through May 29, and another eighteen days, from November 20 through December 7. In 1945 the miners walked out for twenty-eight days in September and October. And in the war year of 1943 four major stoppages, with brief interim truces, took place between May 1 and November 3.

The fact that the Taft-Hartley law allowed the strikes this year indicates that future strikes are possible. What is more, to judge from conversations with government and industry labor experts, a strike seems in prospect for July. The present industry-wide wage agreement expires on June 30. Lewis has asked—and the operators have refused—higher royalties to pay his miners old-age and welfare benefits. Lewis predicts that "convulsions of white anger" will sweep the mining districts if the new contract does not contain a pension fund.

With emergency coal stocks dangerously reduced by the spring walkout, Lewis and his men will be able to make a summer strike felt much faster. They will be able to get a running start, moreover, because the miners' annual ten-day vacation begins on June 25, five days before the contract expires. Their economic weapon, as John L. likes to call a strike, will be a strong one.

These facts make Lewis and his perennial coal strike conspicuous targets for public consideration. The problem is how to avoid the yearly repetition of mine shutdowns and yet assure both workers and management equitable treatment.

Lewis's personal truculence has obscured the fact that the miners have a reasonable case. Their work is among the most dangerous in the nation. Last year alone 1,165 miners were killed and 63,000 injured, many permanently. The hazards, coupled with the woeful living conditions described in the Boone report, make the work undesirable. Many persons say special benefits, such as hospitalization, death benefits, and retirement pensions, are necessary to attract men to the mine labor force. Certainly the miners' work is vital enough to the national economy to make their problems a matter of both public and Congressional concern.

The government acknowledged this situation to a degree with the 1946 Krug-Lewis agreement, which was written during government seizure of the mines in 1946 and expired last summer. This agreement created the first miners' welfare-and-retirement fund and maintained it through a five-cent royalty on every ton of coal produced. Reluctantly following the government's lead, the operators signed a contract last July which created a similar fund. They have maintained this fund, now exceeding $39,000,000, by paying a ten-cent royalty. The important thing here is that the 1947 contract states flatly that the fund will be used to give the miners, their families, and dependents "medical or hospital care, pensions on retirement or death . . . compensation for injuries or illness resulting from occupational activity."

Yet the coal companies, through Ezra Van Horn, their trustee for the 1947 fund, are blocking payments even now, although nearly twelve months have passed since the contract was signed. In the interim Mr. Van Horn has rejected Lewis's initial proposal, a compromise proposal by Thomas E. Murray, who until January was the neutral trustee of the fund, and a subsequent compromise plan by Senator Styles Bridges, the New Hampshire Republican who succeeded Mr. Murray. The details of the various proposals are not important here. Neither are

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the legal points with which Mr. Van Horn is fighting them: he has requested the banks to freeze the fund and filed suit in Federal District Court to rule on the legality of the pensions. The key factor is that for close to a year Mr. Van Horn failed to offer any proposal of his own. According to Mr. Murray, the operators could have drafted a financially and legally sound retirement program within sixty days after the contract was signed.

One of the difficulities for Mr. Van Horn is the lack of cohesiveness among the mine companies. The industry is split into factions, each applying its own pressure at points thought important. The large commercial coal firms have different views from the smaller one-mine firms, and the whole commercial segment of the industry battles with the "captive" mine owners, who operate exclusively for the steel corporations. This situation led Justice T. Allen Goldsborough to suggest the other day that the operators "get together and appoint one man who would keep in touch with the situation the year around and be in a position to bargain not only effectively but logically and reasonably." There is a growing feeling in Washington that this would be the first step in easing the problem created by Lewis. It would give collective bargaining a chance to work.

The Taft-Hartley emergency machinery can be written off as at least a partial failure, since Lewis has been able to strike under it, and in another concurrent situation, the threatened strike at the Oak Ridge laboratory, both management and labor have proved they can wait out the eighty-day injunction period without altering their initial positions an iota.

During March and April Lewis demonstrated that he can delay even the injunction process if he wants. While he was fined $20,000 personally and the United Mine Workers $1,400,000 for contempt of court, the penalty, divided among 400,000 men, amounted to less than $5 a piece, a small enough price to pay for a $100-a-month retirement pension if the strike was made effective by defiance of the injunction.

It is becoming increasingly clear to observers here that, contrary to its long-held position, labor is as desirous as management to have the injunctive process invoked as long as Taft-Hartley procedure holds way. Each faction feels that the injunction strengthens its stand. The workers do not have to lose their wages or the union funds that are bled away to support a strike. Management feels that the government, at the end of the injunction, will prevent a strike anyhow—and the workers will be forced to accept whatever terms the company is gracious enough to offer. Government intervention costs neither side anything and gives each a chance to gain something. Consequently there is no encouragement to settle a dispute by ordinary bargaining methods.

It is this situation that has prompted another proposal, now under serious confidential study by a government agency. A number of labor observers have suggested to the Administration, and this writer thinks their idea has merit, that the injunctive processes of the Taft-Hartley act be retained and that both management and labor be penalized each time it is necessary for the government to take a hand in a dispute. Under this plan any unions threatening to strike a key industry, such as coal, would be required to work at prevailing wages. There would be no increase made to avert a strike, as was done in the Krug-Lewis agreement and several times during the war. Similarly, a company would be required to pay a substantial fee if the government had to use the injunction procedure or seize and operate its plant. It is believed that this would discourage both sides from relying on government help and encourage collective bargaining. There is no reason why the cost of emergency strike machinery should be borne solely by the general public.

The outlook for Congress's drafting the necessary legislation depends on the maturity of the men on Capitol Hill next session. Short of some process such as this, nationalization would seem the only answer to the coal situation.

LOOKING BACKWARD

THIS department breaks its pattern of reproducing items of fifty and seventy-five years ago, to present an expecially interesting item unearthed by an alert researcher the other day. It first appeared in *The Nation* on September 21, 1911:

"The German army maneuvers seem to have ended in a veritable triumph for the military aviators. Lieutenant Mackenthun, who had already distinguished himself in long-distance flights, is reported to have flown over the enemy and brought back in half an hour precious information which the cavalry could have obtained only after many hours of reconnoitering, coupled with heavy losses. But if both the opposing armies were similarly equipped with aeroplanes and dirigibles, they ought both, it should seem, to have profited in equal measure. Moreover, the ordnance sharps, who persistently refuse to believe in the possibilities of the aeroplance as a military scout, will be quick to point out that such maneuvers afford no real test, for in war time thousands of men and many specially constructed balloon cannon would have been blazing away at Lieutenant Mackenthun and forcing him up so high in the air as to make observation difficult, if not impossible. Obviously, under actual service conditions the difficulities of the air scout will be vastly greater and success will be achieved only at a terrible risk and by the exceptional aviator. None the less, military men everywhere are paying more and more attention to this new method of scouting, even where there is absolute skepticism as to the use of the aeroplane for bomb-dropping. One has only to study some of our own Civil War battles to see what terrible blunders might have been avoided had even captive balloons been more widely used."

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Del Vayo—Spain All Over Again

HAROLD LASKI, among others, in analyzing the diplomatic maneuvers directed against the state of Israel, has cited the analogy of "non-intervention" in Spain and the tragic consequences of that policy. "Non-intervention" caused the destruction of Republican Spain. This I can testify to from my own knowledge. For three years, as Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic and chief delegate to the League of Nations, I struggled against this moral monstrosity—it was not simply a juridical monstrosity—to which the serene historians of tomorrow will attribute the terrible sufferings of the Spanish people and the war which later laid waste the world.

When I took over the Foreign Ministry in September, 1936, some six weeks after the war began, "non-intervention" was already in effect. The Spanish government, in token of its collaboration with the League, had accepted the ruling, while affirming its right to acquire the means to defend itself. I had no choice but to follow this policy, but at the same time I prepared to resist what I feared would happen, and what did happen—the application of "non-intervention" in favor of Franco and against the Republic.

Britain's tactics in the first decisive weeks of the Spanish war were directed toward one objective: to give the rebels time to obtain arms and other aid from the Nazi-Fascist Axis, while leaving the Spanish Republic fenced in and without means of securing arms if "non-intervention" were accepted by the member states of the League. When the Committee of Non-Intervention was finally set up in London, the Loyalists had already been placed in a position of arms inferiority. The disproportion continued, thanks to "non-intervention," until lack of weapons finally, three years later, lost the war for the Spanish Republic.

For all this time we had to exercise the greatest self-control not to yield to the provocations arising out of the farce of "non-intervention." I was continually aware that the pro-Franco sector of the British Foreign Office would have been delighted to see the Republican government react with the famous "Spanish pride"—putting an end to the farce and even withdrawing from the League. Had we done so, we would have been charged publicly with creating a threat to Europe's peace and security. Three times—at Guadalajara, at Teruel, and on the Ebro—the Republican army could have won the war and probably saved the world from the conflagration which followed. Owing to "non-intervention," however, it could not exploit these victories, for it had only one gun to every ten of the rebels'.

I have relived the tragedy of Spain in that of Israel. Here we have the same tactics, the same authors, and the same objectives. Britain today is the author of the strategy designed to destroy, if it can, the Jewish state even if in the process it also destroys the authority of the United Nations. As in the case of Spain, an act of aggression is relegated to the status of a local skirmish.

On April 17, when the Security Council passed its first truce resolution under British inspiration, no mention was made of the fact that 10,000 Arabs, organized by the states of the Arab League, were fighting in Palestine against the Jews. A month later, when the King of Transjordan and the Foreign Minister of Egypt had proudly announced to the Security Council that their regular armies had marched into Palestine, Britain twice prevented the council from labeling the action a threat to peace and security. So the inventor of the policy of "non-intervention" in Spain has also assumed the role of Germany and Italy in 1936. Britain continues to arm the Arab states under the legal pretext of having contractual obligations which, presumably, override all other considerations. It continues to finance, train, and arm the Transjordan Arab Legion on the same pretext, expecting the world to forget that the legion's commander, Brigadier John B. Glubb, who resigned from the British army on the day of the mandate's end, May 15, had been lent to Transjordan by the British until that very day. Obviously, the purpose is to increase the disproportion in military strength between the aggressor Arab states and the month-old state of Israel. For the fact remains that while the Arab states have been supplied with arms by Britain and other countries, the Haganah, until May 15 an underground army, could not buy in the open market, and certainly could not buy from the United States.

There is another striking analogy. Again we have the spectacle of an American President prevented from making his policies prevail. In the case of Republican Spain, President Roosevelt, in a moment of decision, favored lifting the arms embargo; the British embassy, which actually directed American policy toward Spain, intervened in time to prevent it. In the case of Israel, President Truman rushed to be the first to recognize the Jewish state; a week later he received President Weizmann at the White House. On May 28 the President was ready to lift the arms embargo, and, in fact, the order was on his desk. The State Department pleaded for a few more days. The request was granted. The following day the Security Council passed the British resolution imposing a worldwide embargo. The Arab states are reputed to have an eight months' supply of arms, and the Jews have no real stockpile. I, too, as Foreign Minister of Spain, was repeatedly asked by Anthony Eden and Yvon Delbos, Foreign Ministers of Britain and France, for a little more time. The "little more time" dragged on until I boarded the last plane to France to escape execution. The hope now, as in the Spanish war, is that the military situation will so deteriorate that the Jews will be forced to make any concession demanded.

To complete the analogy, one already hears people say, "God help the Jews if Russia speaks up for them." Today Spain still pays for the fact that the Soviet Union alone supported the legitimate government during the Franco revolt. So a country fighting for its freedom is twice penalized: once because the democracies refuse their help; and again because when Russia supports a just case, the case is damned by that fact.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

BLAKE

Blake was immortal. When his eyes were bent
On mortal forms he knew that Earth was heaven.
The stones of law were love's negations graven,
And Christ was each forgiving lineament.
He touched with his two hands the firmament,
Found there that peace by deathless judgment given
That pulls time back to make the reckoning even
Between the abounding ages and time spent.
Who murmurs "Not again" must know he lies;
"Now is undying" was Blake's eternal theme.
He knew that thief who mocked Christ, and despaired,
And that good thief who looked for Paradise;
He knew the evil and the noble dream,
The eternal heaven that breaks on love declared.

VERNON WATKINS

HAROLD LASKI ON AMERICA

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. A COMMENTARY AND AN INTERPRETATION. By Harold J. Laski. The Viking Press. $6.50.

THIS undoubtedly is Harold Laski's big book. Big in both senses! Analogies with Tocqueville and Bryce inevitably occur to one; what they did in their time Laski essays in ours, but for him the task is now urgent beyond their conceiving. "It is within the United States that the final issue is bound to be decided," the issue of civilization; and the emphasis is upon the "within." Out of this awareness Laski analyzes the internal structure of the nation—federal and local government, business, labor, religion, education, races, foreign relations, literature, professions, press, movies, radio. No American could or perhaps would have attempted it; a foreigner who did not know and love America could not have undertaken it. Until Bryce it was "the exception rather than the rule for Europeans to write politely of American civilization"; Laski pays us the immense compliment of taking our civilization so seriously that the question of politeness does not even arise. No one concerned with America can disregard the book, especially those who will most profoundly disagree with it.

"A great book," says Laski, "is, as it were, an effort to legislate." His book lays serious claim to greatness; it will be cited, interpreted, contradicted, and only in time will its full stature become clear, only if it can legislate into being a public that will furnish the real critique. Meanwhile we must recollect to what tradition Laski belongs, the tradition of Locke, Bentham, Mill, the Fabians, and H. G. Wells. A profound student of Marx, he is no more a Marxist than, being also a student of Hobbes, he is a Hobbesian. His writing draws upon both Testaments, is tempered by familiarity with the classics of speculation, and flavored by acquaintance with politicians, an allowance for folly, a fellow-feeling for ability, and a sense of style in the manner of Burke and Bagehot. He is warm, human, generous, and at the same time, if I must simplify, supremely, invincibly rationalistic. His conclusions emerge with the inexorableness of geometrical demonstrations.

Two points in his discussion make this temper explicit. He absolutely rejects the notion of American exceptionalism. With all his appreciation of the special American versatility, experimentalism, vitality, Laski is confident that at bottom America is a variant of the pattern of Western society. He demolishes the Turner "frontier thesis" and shows relentlessly how in the perspective of history "devotion to the idea of the American democracy as unique was turned to the limitation of that democracy." So he persuades us that the hope for America lies finally in the realization "that the peculiar complex of qualities we call Americanism is now subject to much the same forces as the peculiar complex we call Europeanism." By the same token Laski shows how "the magic word 'sectionalism' " is a delusion. The basis for peace and for a united world lies not in the cultivation of regional peculiarities but in the recognition of definable, universal postulates of political wisdom, of which America, in both its triumphs and its failures, is the arch-exemplification.

Secondly, Laski's discussion proceeds upon the assumption of sanity. Naming names, unlike Tocqueville and Bryce, he assumes that no man in his senses can ever regard as anything but preposterous Calvin Coolidge, James M. Beck, Bruce Barton, the vice-presidency and its incumbents, the Chicago Neo-Thomists, the Nashville Fugitives, the critical judgments of H. L. Mencken, and the social theories of T. S. Eliot. He has no hesitation in citing, not as accusation but as sociological data, the "reactionary attitude" of the State Department or the profoundly "undemocratic influence" of the Roman Catholic church in the United States.

Such moments are stirring, but the applauding reader may hesitate over other aspects. The book is, to speak bluntly, too long, its admirable fluency often so unrestrained as to conceal from all but the most patient ingenuity its central thesis. For European readers things may need to be spelled out, but Laski overdoes it, and his reiterated exposition of George Babbitt, for instance, is too flat and professorial a paraphrase of Lewis to retain either the sting or the pathos of the original. Readers of *The Nation*—which Laski calls an indispensable guide to Washington politics—will find that many of his pages sound like familiar editorials. He exposes at length the technique of the Luce publi-

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cations, but shows little awareness that thousands read them with that willing suspension of disbelief which is a trait in the American mentality that Laski does not always sufficiently address.

The style is forensic and sweeping. One rather wearies of the "masterful," "massive," "remarkable," and "amazing," and I for one resent a blithe reference to the "sermons" of John Wise when for years I have been ready to give my eye teeth for a manuscript of one. I regret also that, while agreeing with his strictures on the policies of promotion in American universities, I find him inaccurate about the procedure in my own institution. He blurs the basic issue between Royce and William James, and the sweep of his rhetoric betrays him into the puzzling assertion that farmers do not have "an effective power of centralized pressure." Laski gives the impression that all American farmers are characters in "The Grapes of Wrath"; a regiment of lobbyists constitutes a serious qualification.

But these are minor points; even a multitude of such objections ought not to prevent our confronting the book on its fundamental doctrine. To pull the thesis out of context is to do it violence, but even in condensation it shows the grandeur of Laski's conception. America has a rich capital of restlessness and experimentalism, a vital principle of equality, an unbreakable conviction that man is master of his destiny, a magnanimity and generosity, but despite "all its immense achievements the promise of American life has not been fulfilled." Harold Laski can freight these words with a resounding impact because he dares, as few do, to tell us exactly why. For a number of reasons, historically verifiable, Americans associate moral conduct with the individual; consequently they regard the world and its problems, not as a matter to be rationally examined, but as a theater in which the sensitive conscience tests its imperatives. The result has been, in every department of American life, "a social analysis which separated men from their environment." Today there is an increasing "disproportion between appearance and reality"; so that America amounts to a standing refutation of the belief that "emotion gives drive to its intelligence." An America that permits the gap to widen—in which process the concept of Americanism is being steadily reduced from a moral principle to a merely technological one—will engulf the world in its schizophrenia.

Yet for Laski even this illogical discrepancy has its logical foundation. American thought, on its deepest level, has been formed by the stereotype of business enterprise, which has deliberately cultivated the division between its professed philosophy and the environment. Following this clue, Laski finds in every aspect of American society the irresistible conclusion that America needs a labor party, because, he insists, it alone can create a social order identifiable with necessity. Here Laski's militant rationalism assumes command, not only in the sense that for him there always exist rational explications for nonrational behavior, but that the universe —or at least the sociological universe— is fundamentally and inherently a rational business. If properly conducted, it makes sense, and if improperly conducted, outraged sense demands vengeance. What must be, not only shall be but should be. The irrational in politics remains for Laski, with all his delight in the human comedy, simply aberrant; what is proved to be madness can thereupon be corrected. Laski takes over Veblen's denunciation of predatory culture but omits the apparatus of instincts; while he admires James the man he skirts the Jamesian psychology, and Reinhold Niebuhr, although praised as a liberal, becomes an example of that American anti-intellectualism which identifies moral conduct with the individual, unrepentantly insists that politics is "inherently amoral," and so makes trouble for all the rational world. With fine consistency Laski anatomizes this attitude: because it is prone to abstraction, it is incapable of seeing the individual in the context of a particular society; and it does not comprehend the reality of time. Both these habits, Laski declares—at last running his foe to earth —"go back to the neo-Platonic sources of Christian doctrine, which in their Puritan form so largely shaped the ethos of Americanism."

If American epistemology must be overhauled to recognize the "time-factor," what, then, becomes of those splendid American virtues which Laski admires? By his analysis, improvisation and vitality seem to be precluded from utility, or even survival, in the rational tomorrow, since they are evidently products of a solipsistic social theory. But will the emergence of an American labor party give us a realistic orientation toward time and abstraction? Can labor supply the answer without a metaphysic, and can it achieve a metaphysic without a revolution in its own philosophy of success? Laski admits that until recently the outlook of labor did not differ in essence from that of business; in one of his more empirical moments he confesses that "politics is a philosophy of the second best," and he also admits that the great Tocqueville could allow a wish to be father to a thought. Laski's wish is that "labor must take the necessary steps to capture the state power." But if it just simply does not, then where are we to look for the basis of an effective opposition to "the business stereotype"?

If Laski is right—that is, if his premises hold—and if such questions are to be handled solely within his frame of reference, prediction becomes easy. No doubt his frame of reference gives a coherent account of things as they are or as they will be. But Laski asks us to enter into a particular pattern of formulations and then permits operation only within it. Whether accounting for all things is the same as comprehending them may be an idle speculation in the face of so much documentation; yet even in the academic jargon there are things called "psychological components."

Laski gives us clear-cut alternatives; he makes it impossible to deny that America is the last surviving great capitalist power, and then, in the light of that fact, reading history as the working out of men's relation to an objectively existing environment and to real time, he completes his case. America must go his way, or else—! Well, history is also, to my reading, full of perversities, and the refusal of American labor to take the steps to capture the state power may for years to come prove one of the most exasperating. That this will furnish troubled waters for Communists to fish in and an excuse for Congressional stupidities, no one can doubt. Laski says that time is running out for America. His readers may occasionally wonder whether men who desire as passionately as he to think rea-

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sonably well of humanity are not required by his formulation to dig still deeper, deeper even than he has a right to demand, into their dwindling reserves of rational confidence. But that Harold Laski himself has immense reserves, and that he pours them out for the benefit of his fellow-men, this book is abundant witness. PERRY MILLER

Spain: A Diplomatic Case History

THE SPANISH STORY. By Herbert Feis. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THE footprints of German sentries can still be seen in the cement edging the French end of the International Bridge at Hendaye. They were made in 1940, when the road was being widened so that the Nazi divisions could stream more swiftly into Spain on their way to Gibraltar and North Africa.

But the footprints stopped there. Although Franco was proclaiming himself an enthusiastic fellow-traveler of the Axis and an open foe of the democracies, the order for the German armies to cross the Pyrenees never came. What barred the way was an invisible, intricate web of diplomacy, intrigue, and economic pressure. How it was woven has now been told in full for the first time by Herbert Feis, former economic adviser to the State Department and at that time one of the shrewdest hands at the loom.

"The Spanish Story" is one of the most illuminating case histories in American diplomacy. It is also an absorbing, highly readable, and often exciting story. For Dr. Feis not only is a careful scholar and an uncommonly wise diplomat; he is one of the few living American economists able to write decent prose.

The main lesson implicit in these pages is that international affairs are never simple. Certainly our dealings with Spain between 1939 and 1945 were never the elementary problem in black and white which they seemed at the time to many American liberals. There was no clear and easy question: "Is it right for us to give aid and comfort to that murderous tyrant Franco?" Instead there were many intertwining questions—and to most of them our government was never able to answer a simple yes or no.

In fact, the United States never had a single, clear, consistent policy toward Spain in the whole period of the war. It acted from day to day on a series of shifting compromises worked out between conflicting groups of bureaucrats—each group swayed by its own set of emotions, political convictions, and scraps of intelligence. "It was not easy," Dr. Feis reports, "even for a participant like myself in the agitated discussion to know what was going on. The sense prevailed . . . of watching a sleight-of-hand act from the second row." (As another, though very minor, participant in those same "agitated discussions," the reviewer can testify that the metaphor is painfully accurate.)

Of all the tugging groups the smallest and one of the most powerful was made up of a few men "chiefly in or about the European Division of the State Department" who seemed to nurse a certain hidden sympathy for Franco and to look complacently on any measure which might help to keep him in power. "No wish of this kind was

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avowed even in closed and discreet sessions," Dr. Feis points out. The central question was: "Would help, or the mere prospect of help with conditions, serve to guard against the danger of Spanish entry into the war on the side of the Axis? That was the only focus of debate. But it is true that advisers tended to cluster around the answer that matched their feeling about Franco and his fate."

Among these advisers the Treasury Department officials formed the most extreme anti-Franco forces. They loathed him so blindly that they usually opposed the grant of a single grain of wheat or drop of oil, almost regardless of consequences. In between them and the politicos of the European Division were ranged many gradations of opinion. Perhaps the most balanced was the view of Feis himself, who favored a judicious application of both the carrot and the stick, with the aim of getting the greatest possible concessions from Franco at the smallest price. Near him stood the Board of Economic Warfare, though it often argued for more pressure and less bribery. From time to time the navy, the War Department, the RFC, OSS, and the War Production Board interjected still other lines of policy. The British, too, had a voice in the councils—and because they were equipped with better intelligence, faster communications, and a united front against the discordant Americans, their advice often prevailed. And finally there was Ambassador Carlton Hayes, who "wanted to gain our ends by generous and trustful aid; to win over, and perhaps reform, a grateful Spain by making it prosperous."

Secretary Hull, in an agony of indecision, "was more the arbiter than the judge"—and readers of *The Nation* may be surprised to learn how morbidly sensitive he was to the criticism of liberal journalists. President Roosevelt seldom intervened. He was too busy, too reluctant to discipline any of his bickering subordinates, far too tolerant of administrative chaos.

The astonishing thing is that out of this welter of disagreement there gradually emerged a course of action which—after a fashion—actually worked. For six years American goods continued to flow to Spain, sometimes in a trickle, occasionally in a bounteous flood, as the warring hands in Washington twisted the spigot this way and that. Franco never did enter the war—partly because he dared not give up a source of supply which the Germans could not replace, partly because he and his Axis friends could never quite agree on a division of the spoils of Africa. As the prospect of Nazi victory faded, the Allies increased their pressure, and before the end we were squeezing out a *quid pro quo* in terms of wolfram ore, intelligence arrangements, or other concessions in return for nearly every ton of goods we let into Spain.

But Franco survived. He not only outlived his brother dictators but came out of the war stronger than ever. "The Spanish Story" leaves the reader with a wry and grudging admiration for Franco's skill as a Machiavelli. He lied to both sides, double-crossed them both, milked them for all he could get—and never once got fatally entangled in the net of his own intrigue.

There was one moment in the spring of 1944 when he was dangerously close to disaster. We had then temporarily pinched off his oil supplies, and "by summer a crisis would have come—which would have forced Franco either to make way for a government more pleasing to the democracies or to have defiantly thrown in his lot with Germany."

Either choice, Dr. Feis notes, would have "caused a division within his government, in the army, and among the Spanish people. What the scene in Spain would have been at the time of our landing is—for me at least—an unanswerable question. Franco still in power—ruling with strong measures? A parliamentary government and a satisfied people? A weak government and a sullen people, which would have later come under Communist control? Or no government—anarchy and cruel civil war again? These questions loomed sharply and then were passed on, unanswered, to the future."

For the Allied policy-makers hesitated, argued, wavered—and finally began oil shipments again, in return for certain Spanish concessions. Thus the real Spanish problem remained unsolved; Franco remained "part of our universe, an affront to our sense of justice."

"This end without grace cannot be an end," Dr. Feis concludes. "But who knows what the end will be?"

JOHN FISCHER

Paterson II

PATERSON (BOOK TWO). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $3.

"PATERSON," Book Two, is an interior monologue. A man spends Sunday in the park at Paterson, New Jersey. He thinks and looks about him; his mind contemplates, describes, comments, associates, stops, stutters, and shifts like a firefly, bound only by its milieu. The man is Williams, anyone living in Paterson, the American, the masculine principle—a sort of Everyman. His monologue is interrupted by chunks of prose: paragraphs from old newspapers, textbooks, and the letters of a lacerated and lacerating poetess. This material is merely selected by the author. That the poetry is able to digest it in the raw is a measure of power and daring—the daring of simplicity; for only a taut style with worlds of experience behind it could so resign, and give way to the anthologist. The didactic chapters in "Moby Dick" have a similar function, and are the rock that supports the struggles of Captain Ahab.

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The park is Everywoman, any woman, the feminine principle, America. The water roaring down the falls from the park to Paterson is the principle of life. The rock is death, negation, the *nul;* carved and given form, it stands for the imagination, "like a red basalt grasshopper, boot-long with window-eyes." The symbols are not allegorical, but loose, intuitive, and Protean.

"Paterson," like Hart Crane's "Marriage of Faustus and Helen," is about marriage. "Rigor of beauty is the quest." Everything in the poem is masculine or feminine, everything strains toward marriage, but the marriages never come off, except in the imagination, and there, attenuated, fragmentary, and uncertain. "Divorce is the sign of knowledge in our time." The people "reflect no beauty but gross . . . unless it is beauty to be, anywhere, so flagrant in desire." "The ugly legs of the young girls, pistons without delicacy"; "not undignified"; "among the working classes *some* sort of breakdown has occurred." The preacher in the second section, attended by the "iron smiles" of his three middle-aged disciples, by "benches on which a few children have been propped by the others against their running off," "bends at the knees and straightens himself up violently with the force of his emphasis—like Beethoven getting a crescendo out of an orchestra"—ineffective, pathetic, and a little phony. He has given up, or says he has given up, a fortune for the infinite riches of our Lord Jesus Christ. Interspersed through his sermon, as an ironic counter-theme, is Alexander Hamilton, whose fertile imagination devised the national debt and envisioned Paterson as a great manufacturing center. Nobody wins. "The church spires still spend their wits against the sky." "The rock-table is scratched by the picnickers' boot-nails, more than by the glacier." The great industrialists are "those guilty bastards . . . trying to undermine us." The legislators are "under the garbage, uninstructed, incapable of self-instruction." "An orchestral dulness overlays their world." "The language, tongue-tied . . . words without style!"

This is the harsh view. Against it is the humorous, the dogs, the children; lovely fragments of natural description; the author's sense of the human and sympathetic in his people.

Williams is noted as an imagist, a photographic eye; in Book One he has written "no ideas but in the facts." This is misleading. His symbolic man and woman are Hegel's *thesis* and *antithesis.* They struggle toward *synthesis*—marriage. But fulness, if it exists at all, only exists in simple things, trees and animals; so Williams, like other Platonists, is thrown back on the "idea." "And no whiteness (lost) is so white as the memory of whiteness." "The stone lives, the flesh dies." The idea, Beauty, must be realized by the poet where he lives, in Paterson. "Be reconciled, Poet, with your world, it is the only truth," though "love" for it "is no comforter, rather a nail in the skull."

"Paterson" is an attempt to write the American Poem. It depends on the American myth, a myth that is seldom absent from our literature—part of our power, and part of our hubris and deformity. At its grossest the myth is propaganda, puffing and grimacing: Size, Strength, Vitality, the Common Man, the New World, Vital Speech, the Machine; the hideous neo-Roman personae: Democracy, Freedom, Liberty, the Corn, the Land. How hollow, windy, and inert this would have seemed to an imaginative man of another culture! But the myth is a serious matter. It is assumed by Emerson, Whitman, and Hart Crane; by Henry Adams and Henry James. For good or for evil, America *is* something immense, crass, and Roman. We must unavoidably place ourselves in our geography, history, civilization, institutions, and future.

The subjects of great poetry have usually been characters and the passions, a moral struggle that calls a man's whole person into play. One thinks of the wrath of Achilles, Macbeth and his conscience, Aeneas debating whether he will leave Dido, whether he will kill Turnus. But in the best long American poems—"Leaves of Grass," "The Cantoes," "The Waste Land," "Four Quartets," "The Bridge," and "Paterson"—no characters take on sufficient form to arrive at a crisis. The people melt into voices. In a recent essay Eliot has given his reasons why a writer should, perhaps, read Milton; Williams has answered with an essay that gives reasons why a writer should *not* read Milton—Eliot and Williams might learn something from "Paradise Lost" and "Samson Agonistes," how Milton populated his desert.

Until Books III and IV are published, it is safer to compare "Paterson" with poems that resemble it; not with "The Bridge," that wonderful monster, so unequal, so inexperienced—dazzling in its rhetoric at times in the way that Keats is dazzling; but with a book in which its admirers profess to find everything, "Leaves of Grass." Whitman is a considerable poet, and a considerable myth. I can never quite disentangle the one from the other. I would say that Whitman's language has less variety, sureness, and nerve than Williams's; that his imagination is relatively soft, formless, monotonous, and vague. Both poets are strong on compassion and enthusiasm, but these qualities in Whitman are *simpliste* and blurred.

"Paterson" is Whitman's America, grown pathetic and tragic, brutalized by inequality, disorganized by industrial chaos, and faced with annihilation. No poet has written of it with such a combination of brilliance, sympathy, and experience, with such alertness and energy. Because he has tried to under-

SUMNER WELLES

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stand rather than excoriate, and because in his maturity he has been occupied with the "raw" and the universal, his "Paterson" is not the tragedy of the outcast but the tragedy of our civilization. It is a book in which the best readers, as well as the simple reader, are likely to find *everything*. ROBERT LOWELL

Theology of Progress

CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

MORE than his main opus, the new collection of essays throws into bold relief Toynbee's virtues and limitations. His basic views are offered here in his characteristic discursive manner, with the charm of narration he has made familiar, and with a sparkling display of vistas, connections, analogies extending through the vast areas of human time and space. But much as we enjoy these lofty strolls, we cannot help realizing that the frame of reference is perhaps old-fashioned: while availing himself of the contextual increases of knowledge brought about by modern astronomical, geological, archaeological, and anthropological discoveries and justly pleading for an oecumenical view of history, Toynbee seems to fail to make the right use of the insights with which modern psychology and sociology have provided us. Progressive enough in the surface dimensions, he is utterly conservative in the dimension of philosophical depth. His theoretical machinery seems, in fact, somewhat aged. In an epoch in which concepts and values have broken into flux, he still takes for granted their traditional stability and respectability. This may be due to his Christian piety or his piety may be a consequence of his unawareness, or non-acceptance, of the changes in our life's foundations, but at any rate, after crisscrossing between twenty odd civilizations he winds up in the most startling theological parochialism. The last two essays in this collection could almost have been written by Monsignor Sheen.

Toynbee keeps stressing the revolutionary expansion of our astronomical and geological chronologies, which to him reduces the six millennia of historical man to an almost contemporary period, to the "age in which we are living." He is so impressed by the time quantities that he overlooks the differences in time qualities. We know today that time is not absolute, that the time of a turtle, a lifespan of three hundred years, is by no means comparable to the time of a human being, and that the time in our dreams is substantially different from the time in our wakefulness. The six hundred thousand years of man's biological existence do not in the least diminish the importance and the time character of the six thousand years of human history. On the contrary, these consciously lived six thousand years are more essentially time, are a higher grade of time, than all the millions of years before.

As to history itself, Toynbee denies any change in human nature since its earliest appearance. This negation is the result of his failure to make certain distinctions. First, he indulges in the usual identification of evolution and progress, that is, of transformation and improvement: where there is no progress, there is no change. To be sure, he sees progress in two fields—in intellectual development and in religion, both of which, however, he finds unrelated to human nature. Intellectual development, progress in scientific knowledge, technology, and what he calls "our social heritage" appear not to have affected human nature because they did not raise man to a higher moral and spiritual level. Even this may be questioned: intellectual development certainly had its share in the moral and spiritual progress that indisputably occurred from *Homo Aurignacensis* to a human condition where personalities like Jesus, Dante, and Shakespeare became possible. But granted that man's social and intellectual achievements did not free him from "original sin" and that the average human being is "a dismal failure in things of the spirit," there can be no doubt that intellectual development did change the structure of human society, the relationship between individual and group, and, correspondingly, the structure of the human individual. Disregard of these fundamental changes prevents Toynbee from making other, more subtle but no less important, distinctions, as becomes evident from a statement like this: that "our post-Christian Western civilization . . . is a civilization of the same order as the pre-Christian Graeco-Roman civilization." Nothing could be more different in fact from the relation of the Graeco-Roman citizen to his sacred city-state than the relation of our Western individual to his nation-state; this difference, in turn, implies a host of changes in social, moral, and spiritual concepts. Another example is Toynbee's curious parallel between genuinely primitive man, as described by the French anthropologists Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl, and modern man's relapses into the emotional reactions of his pseudo-primitive subconscious, which have been demonstrated by Freud and Jung. From this parallel he concludes that "we have no ground for believing [the psychic make-up of human beings] to have been different in the earliest representatives of the species *sapiens* of the genus *homo*. . . ." Actually, the pres-

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ence of a huge rational superstructure in modern man makes all the difference in the world.

Such a negation of change and development in human nature makes man appear to have sprung ready-made from a sudden act of creation. It may be an effect of Toynbee's religious conviction, which looms above his picture of the world and stands out as his foremost concern. The only actually relevant progress in human affairs he sees taking place in religion. But again, this religious progress, although happening within the confines of human history and even using the recurrent cycles of civilizations for its gradual ascent toward heaven, is not considered to be an achievement of human nature—not mainly a broadening and sublimation of human concepts—but rather an act of God, "a cumulative increase in the means of Grace at the disposal of each soul in this world." This is all we are allowed to hope for, since we never will be able to rid ourselves of "original sin."

In the first essay of the present collection Toynbee tells us the genesis of his "view of history"; the consecutive inspirations which he relates elucidate the structure of his concept. The first inspiration he received at the outbreak of the World War in 1914 while "expounding Thucydides to Balliol undergraduates" and realizing the analogies between the ancient and the existing world situation. "Thucydides's world and my world had now proved to be philosophically contemporary. And if this were the true relation between the Graeco-Roman and the Western civilizations, might not the relation between all the civilizations known to us turn out to be the same?"

This notion he later found corroborated in Spengler's elaborate theory, which, however, shocked him by its dogmatic determinism. Here a second inspiration came to his assistance, from the "Prologue in Heaven" of Goethe's "Faust." Mephistopheles challenging God, and thereby providing Him an opportunity "to carry His work of creation forward," was the germ from which Toynbee developed his main principle of Challenge and Response. The principle helped him to explain the ascents as well as the breakdowns of his civilizations and to introduce a certain degree of free will into the otherwise inevitable recurrence of rise and fall. Although evidence shows that civilizations are as mortal as individual human beings, Toynbee believes in a "divine plan" to teach man through suffering, through "the suffering caused by the failure of civilizations," and to drive him on to spiritual progress, the progress of religion.

Thus Toynbee's view of history evolved from the grafting of a religious concept on the Spenglerian cyclic theory of civilizations. Its serious flaws are much the same as Spengler's: too easy, merely "phenotypical" analogies, resulting from the splitting up of human history into many disconnected, or only loosely connected, civilizations. Like Spengler, he refuses to see history as some others see it: that is, as a coherent whole, the unique evolution of a unique organic form, man, which alone makes "history" into history.

Toynbee's essays furnish us illuminating perspectives, especially where he deals with encounters between civilizations, as in the pieces on Islam, the West, and the Future, on the International Outlook, and on the Unification of the World. They confirm the impression of a brilliant and erudite mind, a beguiling author, a noble and lovable personality, whose guidance toward a unified world and an oecumenical historiography one must wholeheartedly support. The gist of his theory, however, is neither history nor philosophy; it is Christian theology.

ERICH KAHLER

Folk Hero

THE PRINCESS CASAMASSIMA. By Henry James. With an Introduction by Lionel Trilling. The Macmillan Company. Two Volumes. $6.

"THE PRINCESS CASAMASSIMA" is rich fare; it has the complexity of any fiction which acknowledges all the possibilities of behavior. But as Lionel Trilling points out, James's novel is fundamentally clear and simple. Its superiority over most sociological or "realistic" fiction consists in this very simplicity. For whereas the realistic novelist tries painstakingly to construct his hero out of a multitude of environmental factors, James's hero comes straight from folklore; and in folk literature the story of the dispossessed son undergoing his ordeal and playing some great part in the world has been told many times, in just two or three pages. Thus the reader of "The Princess Casamassima" always has a folk image, conceived in simple wonder, to refer back to as James involves his hero in the modern social situation. James's Hyacinth Robinson is a folk hero who had already found his way into the European novel. As Mr. Tril-

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ling demonstrates in his Introduction, James's novel is in the tradition of Stendhal's "The Red and the Black," Dickens's "Great Expectations," and Flaubert's "Sentimental Education." The hero of these novels is what Mr. Trilling calls the Young Man from the Provinces, an obscure young man who in some unexpected way comes to play a part in society, a young man—Rousseau is the classic historical example—through whose experiences we learn what Western society is. It might also be added that Hyacinth Robinson is related to the Ishmael figure in the stories of Melville and Hawthorne. Robinson is Ishmael's elder brother; he has a society to function in, whereas the preliminary task of Ishmael in America is always to find a society whose existence is by no means clearly established.

The scene of Robinson's career is London in the eighteen-eighties—the "great houses" of the cosmopolitan aristocracy, the ugly interiors of middle-class Philistia, the tenement flats of artisans, the pubs, parks, streets, and department stores. Robinson's mother, the daughter of a French revolutionary, had murdered his father, an English nobleman, and his fate is to be tragically caught between his desire to preserve the values of art, aristocracy, and traditional civilization and his desire to play a part in the revolutionary actions which he believes will soon usher in the age of true democracy.

The center of political reality is the Anarchist movement, devoted to international conspiracy, violence, and complete revision. The relation of his characters to this center of power is what interested James and enabled him to understand with such clarity the various attitudes, overt and covert, which liberal-progressive people assume in such situations. Since James's time there have been many descendants of Paul Muniment, the progressive with his pose of "prudence," his mock fear of "deep women," his secret desire for power, and the beautiful progressive Princess who so touchingly wishes to protect Muniment, with her white wings, from the "imputation of ugly responsibility" and who ultimately dismisses the murderous political conspiracy as "silly humbug in a bad novel." When the education of Robinson forces him to adjust some of his Anarchist opinions, the Princess thinks he has become a backslider. "The misery of the people," she complains, "is by no means always on his heart; he has told me that the people may perish over and over rather than the conquests of civilization shall be sacrificed to them." For the Princess the question of whether "the people" perish over and over is purely a matter of ethics. Robinson discovers, without giving up his democratic aspirations, that civilization is the product of human sacrifice. His readiness to sacrifice his own life for the Anarchist cause has a heroic quality which leaves his friends with a kind of evasive embarrassment very much akin to the feeling of a pious spinster who has been given a dirty postcard. The tragic irony of the novel emerges as we gradually perceive with Robinson that these genuinely sincere humanitarian friends are also prepared —unwittingly and almost as a primitive ritual—to offer up a sacrifice: namely, Robinson. The sense of desertion, of taking up a gallant quest in solitary horror is what finally overcomes James's young hero. Mr. Trilling is right to say that James sees truth as love. For what Hyacinth Robinson so unsuccessfully tries to do is only to perform an act of love in the name of civilization.

The judgment of history would appear to be that James in the eighteen-eighties had a most uncanny sense of some of the central moral qualities of modern politics. "The Princess Casamassima" is one of the few novels in which we find an American writer emerging in something like full moral-political consciousness—such novels as Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance," Melville's "The Confidence Man," and, in fact, Mr. Trilling's own novel, "The Middle of the Journey."

RICHARD CHASE

Surveying T. S. Eliot

T. S. ELIOT: A SELECTED CRITIQUE. Edited by Leonard Unger. Rinehart and Company. $5.

THIS well-edited volume surveys Eliot from many angles and represents a variety of critical procedures ranging from earnest scholarship to simple diatribe. The earliest item is dated 1919, the latest 1947. In addition to the more conventional pieces there is some verse by Karl Shapiro, and there is a parody of Eliot research by T. H. Thompson. The latter is a particularly well-chosen item, since the volume also includes several extremely weighty examples of genuine Eliot research. Mr. Unger's introduction is just, and his bibliography will be useful.

Yet the cogency of much of the writing in the book is itself the best possible tribute to Eliot, for much of the good writing reflects his own method and temper. Mr. Van Doren speaks of his prose as being "at the same time delicately ironic and fanatically firm." Both traits appear often in these pages, though seldom so happily fused as in Eliot himself. Mr. Ransom is delicately ironic, Mr. Winters is fanatically firm (at Eliot's expense), and Mr. Tate best recreates the whole complex manner. Eliot's influence has thus been very extensive, and no wonder. Say what you will, he remains very extraordinary. If you reject the churchman in him and cool a little toward the arduous "The Waste Land," you still have "Prufrock" and "Gerontion" and several other great poems of modern experience; and you have the "Selected Essays," an incomparable book of criticism. Indeed, Eliot has made the kind of stir in the world which it has been folly not to heed. Certain of Mr. Unger's contributors have clearly heeded it too much; but others, like Harold Laski and Van Wyck Brooks, perhaps show the unfortunate effects of having ignored it altogether.

Still, a fresh estimate of Eliot would be welcome today even if it were unflattering. It might be the token of a new literary age. As everyone knows, the age of modernism is in fact giving way to an age of repentant modernism; but because Eliot was once identified with the former and has since contributed heavily to the latter, his present reputation is extremely hard to assess. In any case no fresh estimate of him emerges from Mr. Unger's book, although some of the more ambitious contributors appear to have been trying. Mr. Laski succeeds well enough in disposing of Eliot's ecclesiasticism:

Henry James may not have understood that the morals of a society in which a small class of wealthy people are parasitic upon the labor of the masses are predestined to corruption; but, at least, he recognized that corruption when he

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encountered it. Mr. Eliot saw that same corruption; yet it did not occur to him that it could extend, as it had in fact for nearly two thousand years extended, to the very church which he proposed to make the safeguard against its invasion of society.

This is well said, and in the present book Mr. Laski is unique in saying it; but the cant of "social realism" paralyzes him when he comes to consider Eliot's achievement as a poet. From a different angle Mr. Ransom and Mr. Winters are likewise in full pursuit of him. For the most part, however, they search him for heresies and inconsistencies within a pattern of thought to which they all adhere. Mr. Ransom is mild and reasonable, Mr. Winters is very violent, but neither appears to succeed in creating the fresh image of Eliot. If Mr. Laski is too much of an outsider to achieve it, they exhibit that peculiar futility which inheres in the family quarrel.

So for the present Eliot escapes a last judgment; and the best of Mr. Unger's contributors are the least comprehensive ones. Eliot's irony and firmness have been cited as two features of his influence on other prose writers. A third is his ability to say much in a small space, to play a very bright light on a limited surface. By virtue of this talent he has modernized the essay, and a few of Mr. Unger's contributors show a similar talent. Mr. Aldington's early appreciation, written before the critical problems had multiplied, is still an attractive preface to the poetry. Mr Schwartz in his study of Eliot as a culture hero, Mr. Tate in his remarks on the imagery of "Ash Wednesday," Mr. Van Doren in his review of "Essays Ancient and Modern," all refine effectively on a single point. For the rest, the essays appear to have been included for the inevitable reason that they represented some celebrated person or point of view. Yeats is briefly present in a derogatory bit from his introduction to the "Oxford Book of Modern Verse." Alas, it is Yeats in his senility. As for Mr. Pound, he remarks that "if I was in any sense the revolution, I have been followed by the counter-revolution," meaning Eliot. Strange terms for one of Mr. Pound's politics. But when he apologizes for "engaging your attention while I talk about Mr. Eliot's essay about other essayists' essays," a reviewer of the present book of essays can only retire in haste.

F. W. DUPEE

The Unbiased Observer

THE PERSONAL PAPERS OF ANTON CHEKHOV. Edited by Matthew Josephson. Lear Publishers. $3.

REISSUED at a time when the decidedly more brilliant personal documents of Kafka, Gide, and James claim public attention, this collection of Chekhov's notebooks and literary letters will probably not receive the attention it deserves, which is something of a pity.

In two or three sentence entries scattered through these unpretentious notebooks the authentic Chekhov atmosphere is created. Put together with seeming carelessness and artlessness, the notes yet form a uniquely personal signature. "The estate will soon be brought under the hammer; there is poverty all around; and the footmen are still dressed like jesters." That is all; but when one compares it with "The Cherry Orchard," of which it seems a possible embryo, one can see how much tension can be generated from the banal, how much general truth from an unadorned loyalty to the minutiae of daily life.

And above all, Chekhov reiterates in his letters, to be completely honest, never to decorate here a little or subtract there a little: to be the "unbiased observer." Not the least of the pleasures to be had in reading this book is its evidence of how thoroughly Chekhov succeeded in that seemingly most simple, actually most difficult of literary obligations. It is a good, an honest, a fine book —like the man who wrote it.

IRVING HOWE

Films

JAMES AGEE

I AM still trailing "Anna Karenina" and "Dreams That Money Can Buy" by several lengths, but I've caught up on a number of others:

"Another Part of the Forest." Lillian Hellman's saber-toothed play about the new-born New South, ardently acted, and directed with sense and tension by Michael Gordon. Smart casting of instruments, musicians, and music, for a deep-provincial "musical evening." Some alert intercutting of reactions around a smoldering dinner table. Is unusually good hybridization of stage and screen drama.

"Arch of Triumph." Some real talent, and a lot of desperate effort, lost in a picture God wisely forsook. If you haven't lived until you've seen Bergman love Boyer, you should have stood in bed.

"The Big Clock." An overrated but slickly amusing melodrama, with many good bits of comic directing by John Farrow. A perfect performance by

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George Macready; the tilt of his jaw line and cigarette on his hearing that his boss has committed murder is one of the neatest moments of the season. A beautifully economical piece of cutting on a shot of an editorial conference, caught the split second before an hour's boring tension relaxes, with adjournment.

"The Bride Goes Wild." Attractive June Allyson and ineffable Van Johnson in a farce so lazily done that it is lazily amusing.

"The Brothers." Heavy breathing, heavier dialect, and any number of quaint folk customs on the Island of Skye. The island and its actual inhabitants are all right; the rest is Mary Webb with hair on her chest.

"Casbah." The old reliable garbage of "Pépé le Moko" and "Algiers" turned into a likably unpretentious semi-musical. Disconcertingly straight work by Tony Martin and Yvonne da Carlo.

"The Fuller Brush Man." Red Skelton and a fair amount of rough-hewn comedy.

"Fric-Frac." Three good comedians—Fernandel, Arletty, and Michel Simon—work in second gear in a third-rate comedy about a jeweler's clerk who falls among thieves.

"Green Grass of Wyoming." A white stallion and a black mare which are as magnificent as anything on the contemporary screen; and several considerably less magnificent human beings, who are around too much.

"Hazard." Paulette Goddard and Macdonald Carey in perhaps an hour too much of the kind of edgy, intelligent worthlessness which Paramount turns out in its sleep.

"The Iron Curtain." If it could be proved that there is any nation on earth which does *not* employ spies, that would be news. This is just the same old-toothless dog biting the same old legless man. However, it is efficient melodrama, and fairly restrained in delivering its world-shaking message.

"Melody Time." There seems to be an obvious connection between the Disney artists' increasing insipidity and their increasing talent for fright, but I will leave it to accredited sado-masochists to make the official discovery.

"The October Man." A nice unobstreperous thriller, written and produced by Eric Ambler, starring John Mills.

"The Pirate." Color worth seeing, and Gene Kelly's very ambitious, painfully misguided performance, by John Barrymore out of the elder Douglas Fairbanks. Judy Garland is good; and Vincente Minelli's direction gives the whole business bulge and splendor. My sympathies are largely with them, for they're all really trying something—and in musical comedy, whose wonderful possibilities are too seldom realized by "artists," good or bad. Many people admire "The Pirate," but it seems to me to have the death's-head, culture-cute, "mirthful" grin of the average Shakespearean comic.

"The Sainted Sisters." Veronica Lake, Joan Caulfield, and a swarm of clichés, pleasantly kidded in a manner derived from Preston Sturges.

"Scudda Hoo! Scudda Hay!" Some very handsome mules, and enough reverent talk about them to turn their ears bright red.

"So This Is New York." I still haven't read Lardner's "Big Town," on which this is based; but in a quick, dry, unemphatic way this is a very entertaining movie, thanks especially to Henry Morgan, Dona Drake, and Rudy Vallee.

"The Time of Your Life." Saroyan is an exasperatingly irreducible blend of Nehi and sacramental wine, and his play needs the live stage the way a fish needs water. The Cagney Brothers' loving production as nearly overcomes these handicaps as any I can imagine. James Barton's beautifully timed and pointed act is already famous, and deserves to be. In its own way James Cagney's controlling, self-effacing performance is fully as good.

"They Are Not Angels." Well, who'd expect them to be; they're French parachute troops. Good in spots but very long and often next-door to tiresome.

"The Woman in White." The Wilkie Collins novel, given the studious, stolid treatment ordinarily reserved for the ritual assassination of a Great Classic. This is not intended as a recommendation.

Carl Dreyer's "Day of Wrath" is now at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse; "Le Silence est d'or," the original French version of René Clair's "Man About Town," is at the Fifty-Fifth Street Playhouse; Garbo's "Camille" has been revived.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE truth of Bernard Shaw's statement that "there are some sacrifices which should not be demanded twice from any man, and one of them is listening to Brahms's Requiem" is something which duty obliged me to rediscover by listening to the new RCA Victor recording of the work made by Robert Shaw's chorus, an assembled orchestra, Eleanor Steber, soprano, and James Pease, baritone (shellac Set DM-1236, $12.25; vinylite Set DV-20, $19); and the worst of it is that I will soon have to listen to a new Columbia recording of the work made in Vienna. I also appreciated all over again the accuracy of the description of "a pedal pipe booming and a drum thumping the dominant of the key for ten minutes at a stretch, whilst the other instruments and the voices plough along through every practicable progression in or near the key, up hill from syncopation to syncopation, and down dale from suspension to suspension in an elaborately modernized manner that only makes the whole operation seem more desperately old-fashioned and empty."

Robert Shaw's performance makes this sort of thing even worse with tempos much slower than the *alla breve* time-signatures of the two sections would seem to call for; and more animation also would seem to be required by the character of *Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen* (the over-slow tempos here, the excessively fast tempos elsewhere—notably in the *Qui tollis* of Bach's B minor Mass, and also in one or two of the Bach arias in which Shaw conducted the orchestra for Marian Anderson—give the impression that Shaw's musical insight is not commensurate with his ability as a choral conductor). The singing of the chorus and soloists is very fine, the playing of the orchestra also good; and the performance is reproduced with beauty of sound and clarity of tex-

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ture. Side 14 in my copy wavers badly in pitch.

Milhaud's music has given me very little pleasure until now; and I still get none from the expertly contrived racket of the second and fourth movements of the Symphony No. 1 he recorded for Columbia with the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony (Set 704, $6). In the first movement the acidulously pastoral opening section is quite engaging, but the rest of the material and its symphonic involvement are boring; and it is the somber and monumental third movement that is most impressive. The orchestra plays well; and its recorded sound is natural, but the violins are weak and without luster.

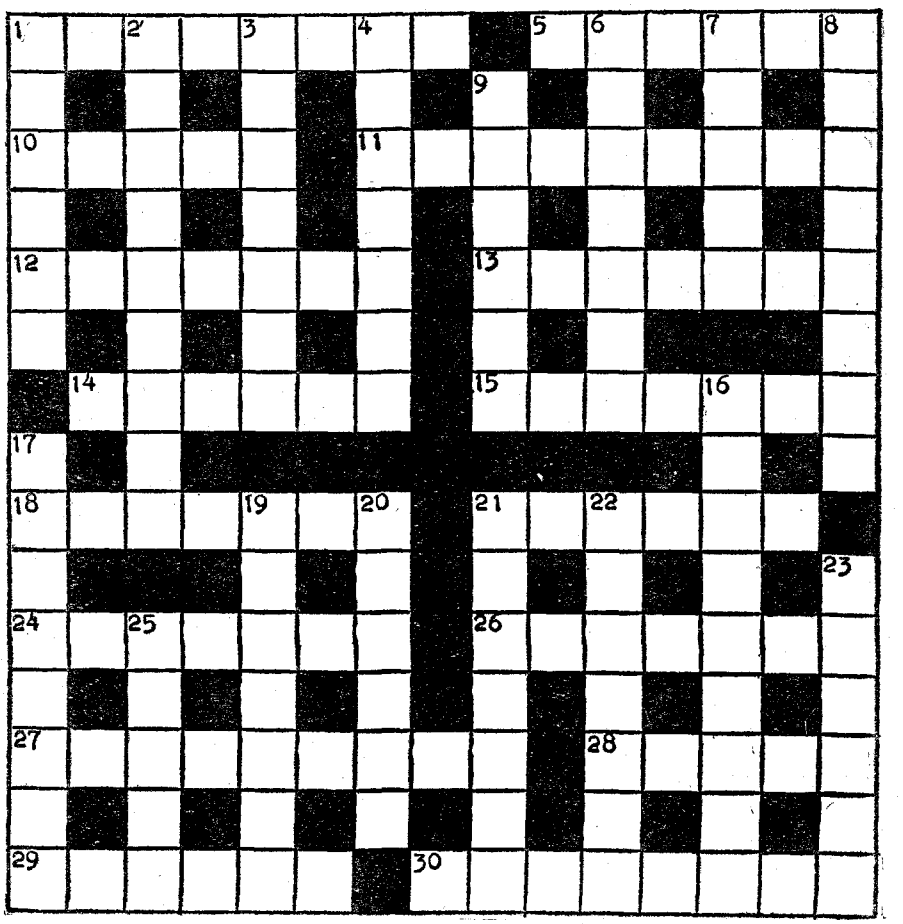
Musicraft has reissued its early recording of Bach's "Coffee" Cantata made by Ethyl Hayden, soprano, Benjamin de Loache, baritone, William Hain, tenor, and a little instrumental group led from the harpsichord by Ernst Victor Wolff (Set 5, $5.10). The music is pleasant at times, boring at other times; the performance is very good and well reproduced; surfaces are not quiet, but not disturbingly noisy.

On a single record Victor offers Schubert's beautiful "Der Hirt auf dem Felsen," sung by Dorothy Maynor, soprano, with David Oppenheim playing the clarinet obbligato, and George Schick at the piano (12-0186, $1.25). Miss Maynor's singing is lovely, but without the wonderful phraseological inflection and, therefore, the expressive force, of Elisabeth Schumann's on the old Victor record; nor does Oppenheim play with the beauty of tone and phrasing of Reginald Kell's performance on that record.

Victor also offers Brahms's "Feldeinsamkeit," "Der Schmied," and "Der Kranz"—the last an unfamiliar and extremely dull song—recorded by Lotte Lehmann with Paul Ulanowsky at the piano (10-1405, $1). The pace of "Feldeinsamkeit" is a little fast, possibly because Lehmann no longer has the breath for the long phrases in the more sustained style they call for; yet she produces astonishing volume in "Der Schmied." In this song, and in "Der Kranz" the voice is constricted and shrill in strong high notes; and on the whole the singing is not as good as Lehmann has been doing recently. The recording deserves praise for balance which integrates piano with voice.

Crossword Puzzle No. 267

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Make no progress, at the end of the semester? (4, 4)
5 Types of New Hampshire Bridges. (6)
10 Brew fit for a king, in a way. (5)
11 These sort are musing in the garden. (9)
12 I must change, as I can't get devilish. (7)
13 and 17 down. Held by a G. I.? (7, 8)
14 As forward after five as it's backward before fifty. (6)
15 These were from the Portuguese. (7)
18 Clara Bow had "it." (3, 4)
21 Mix two short months. (6)
24 Argued logically, and took an attitude around it. (7)
26 He was magnificent. (7)
27 Where 19 is kept. (9)
28 These horses have their points. (5)
29 The old sign of the guardsmen. (6)
30 Auxiliaries. (8)

DOWN

1 How one might annoy most around the French. (6)
2 Not the one who is a dreamer. (5, 4)
3 Not hers, but they served under Elizabeth. (7)
4 The wise men came down with state out of the west. (7)
6 Must be tight to sound like the sergeant does. (7)
7 There's quite a mystery about this woman. (5)
8 See 23.
9 The little foxes spoiled them. (6)
16 Is such a motion out of order, or only peculiar? (9)
17 See 13 across
19 Quite an odd sort of oldster. (7)
20. A god laid up (and left without a hundred). (6)
21 The act has a song in it, but it's not ready yet. (7)
22 Never found in Cuba, or I might say only the unusual sort is. (7)
23 How some criminals are held in 8. (6)
25 All at once we find ovals out of shape. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 266

ACROSS:—1 SENSATIONALISTS; 9 CICATRICE; 10 WORSE; 11 LOSERS; 12 CLARINET; 14 AMATEURS; 16 ADAIR; 17 AUNTS; 18 GULLIVER; 20 SHERATON; 21 BOTHER; 24 NAOMI; 25 INDENTURE; 26 SEATING CAPACITY.

DOWN:—1 SICKLE; 2 NECKS; 3 ARTURO TOSCANINI; 4 IBID; 5 NEEDLESSLY; 6 LOWER CALIFORNIA; 7 SHRINKAGE; 8 SHELTER; 13 BURGEONING; 15 MINNESOTA; 17 ASSENTS; 19 FREELY; 22 HOURI; 23 IDEA.

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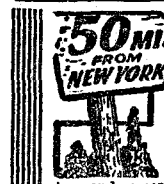

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